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THE BIRTHPLACE OF ST. PATRICK: AN ESSAY IN TEXTUAL CRITICISM[1]

The year 1932 will be the fifteen hundredth anniversary of Saint Patrick's mission to Ireland.

This event will add to the perennial interest in the life of the saint, and turn the historian's eyes to many details, still uncertain in his story. Among these details, none will shine out with greater appeal for an answer than that of Patrick's birthplace. For the *patria* which he sacrificed to preach in a foreign land is still unknown. No nation can claim with certainty the great missionary who in the early fifth century evangelized the Irish. To no city can the Irish confidently express their gratitude for this gift of God to their ancestors in the faith.

In Saint Patrick's only great writing, the *Confessio,* a certain Bannavem Taberniae is named as his birthplace; but that place has never been accurately identified.

Search for it has been commonly made in Britain; and this chiefly because of two passages in that same work of the Saint, one of which clearly refers to Britain as his *patria.*[2] Although the earliest extant text of the *Confessio* dates from the ninth century,

[1] Read at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Boston, Mass., December 30, 1930.

[2] Healy, *Life and Writings of St. Patrick* (New York, 1905), 585.

the belief which it represents about Patrick's birthplace surely goes back to at least a century and a half earlier; for, the same thing is found in the seventh century biography by a certain Muirchu.[3]

Despite this early belief in Britain as the *patria,* no definite identification of Bannavem with any actual place in Britain is known before the eleventh century, when the glossator of Feacc's *Hymn* stated it to be Dumbarton in Scotland.[4]

However, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, modern scholars have more and more rejected this identification, and some have not hesitated to seek the now famous town in other lands than Great Britain. Flanagan turned to Britannia Minor, and decided for Bononia, the modern Boulogne-sur-Mer.[5] Some twelve years ago, MacSweeney ventured the opinion that it was Tres Taberniae in Italy, the town made famous by St. Paul's passing through on his way to Rome.[6] Even before this jump to Italy, another scholar, Msgr. O'Brien, Professor Emeritus of Maynooth, had gone quite as far afield to seek Patrick's *patria* in Spain.[7] Bury, however, has retained the British origin, but cannot identify the actual town.[8] Thus the search continues, and no one's theory is found satisfactory.

I desire to present here the theory that St. Patrick's birthplace was the city of Rome in Italy. What I present is a theory; an hypothesis founded upon a critical examination of the data. It is an essay, an attempt to throw light upon a subject still obscure. It has to do with the text of St. Patrick's own work, the *Confessio,* studied in the light of its own contents and the biographies of the Saint that depended upon it. This theory is a study of reading and writing rather than geography. In fine, it holds that the

[3] Stokes, W., *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (London, 1887), II, 364, 374, 494.

[4] *Ibid.*, 412.

[5] *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1822), I, 93.

[6] "The Birthplace of St. Patrick," *Irish Eccles. Record* (April, 1918), 265-285.

[7] "The Birthplace of St. Patrick," *Irish Eccles. Record* (June, 1899), 491-507; July, 11, 26.

[8] *Life of St. Patrick* (London, 1905).

present text of the *Confessio* does not exactly represent the original, but is, especially in what regards the biography of Patrick, an erroneous, if not an intentionally altered, copy.

This theory is not the same as Zimmer's.[9] That famous Celtic scholar asserted that the present text of the *Confessio* is an abbreviation which omitted the biographical details of the longer original. The theory here presented, however, while acknowledging that the Armagh manuscript contains certain omissions, and one of them probably intentional, claims that the present text, found for example in White's edition, is substantially as Patrick wrote it.[10] It does, however, hold that certain words and even phrases in the *Confessio* are not the same as when it left his pen.[11]

There is nothing intrinsically impossible in such a theory. It is the purpose of this essay to make it also probable.

May I note first of all that for the place of Patrick's birth the biographers wrote Ventre, Nentria, Nemtor, all undoubtedly referring to what the *Confessio* spells Bannavem Taberniae. Furthermore, the place whence Patrick set out to Ireland is written Ebmoria, Euboria, Curbia. Such an array of what may be only copyists' errors gives at least a good textual reason for conducting the search in the manuscripts rather than in the maps.

Those parts of the *Confessio* of St. Patrick which will be the main object of attention, are here appended for the sake of easy reference. The text as given is based on Stoke's edition in the Rolls Series, with some emendations, taken chiefly from White's edition:

1. Ego Patricius peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium et contemptibilis sum apud plurimos.

Patrem habui Calpornium diaconum, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit uico Bannauem Taberniae. Uillulam enim prope habuit, ubi ego capturam dedi.

Annorum eram tunc fere xui. Deum uerum ignorabam, et Hiberione in captiuitate adductus sum, cum tot milia hominum, secundum merita nostra,

[9] *Celtic Church* (London, 1902), 50; cf. Bury's review in *English Hist. Review*, July, 1903.

[10] *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, XXV (1904).

[11] Gwynn, *Liber Ardmachus* (Dublin, 1913).

quia a Deo recessimus et praecepta eius non custodiuimus, et sacerdotibus nostris non oboedientes fuimus, qui nostram salutem admonebant. Et Dominus induxit super nos iram animationis suae et dispersit nos in gentibus multis etiam usque ad ultimum terrae ubi nunc paruitas mea esse uidetur inter alenigenas. . . .

19. Et post triduum terram caepimus, et XXVIII dies per disertum iter fecimus, et cibus defuit illis et fames inualuit super eos. Et alio die coepit gubernator mihi dicere, Quid, Christiane, tu dicis? Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est; quare ergo pro nobis orare non potes? Quia nos a fame periclitamus; difficile est enim umquam ut aliquem hominem uideamus. Ego enim euidenter dixi illis, Conuertemini ex fide et ex toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum, cui nihil est impossibile, ut hodie cibum mittat uobis in uiam uestram usque dum satiamini, quia ubique habundat illi.

Et adiuuante Deo ita factum est. Ecce grex porcorum in uia ante oculos nostros apparuit, et multos ex illis interfecerunt et ibi . ii . noctes manserunt; et bene refecti, et canes eorum repleti sunt, quia multi ex illis defecerunt et secus uiam semiuiui relicti sunt.

Et post haec summas gratias egerunt Deo, et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum, et ex hac die abundanter cibum habuerunt. Etiam mel silvestre inuenierunt, et mihi partem obtulerunt. Et unus ex illis dixit, Hoc immolaticum est. Deo gratias, exinde nihil gustaui.

20. Eadem uero nocte eram dormiens, et fortiter temptauit me Satanas, quod memor ero quandiu fuero in hoc corpore. Et cicidit super me ueluti saxum ingens, et nihil membrorum meorum praeualui. Sed unde mihi uenit ignoro in spiritum ut Heliam uocarem? Et in hoc uidi in caelum solem oriri, et dum clamarem Heliam, Heliam, uiribus meis, ecce splendor solis illius decidit super me, et statim discussit a me omnem grauitudinem. Et credo quod a Christo Domino meo subuentus sum, et Spiritus eius jam tunc clamabat pro me. Et spero quod sic erit in die presurae meae, sicut in aeuanguelio inquit: In illa die, Dominus testatur, Non uos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis.

21. Et iterum post annos multos adhuc capturam dedi. Ea nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis. Responsum autem diuinum audiui dicentem mihi; 'Duobus autem mensibus eris cum illis.' Quod ita factum est. Nocte illa sexagesima liberauit me Dominus de manibus eorum.

22. Etiam in itenere praeuidit nobis cibum et ignem et siccitatem cotidie donec decimo die peruenimus omnes. Sicut superius insinuaui, XX et VIII dies per disertum iter fecimus. Et ea nocte qua peruenimus omni de cibo nihil habuimus.

23. Et iterum post paucos annos in Britannis eram cum parentibus meis. . . .

There are certain parts of the *Confessio* which indicate that not Britain, but Italy, was Patrick's *patria*; these will be discussed first.

When Patrick speaks of going from his own home to Ireland, he uses the expression "ad ultimum terrae"—"to the end of the earth." Bury who holds that Britain was the *patria,* acknowledges the difficulty here, when he makes the comment "as if Ireland were severed by half the globe from Britain." [12] But if Italy had been the *patria,* how fitting is the saint's mode of expression.

A British origin is also hard to reconcile with the circumstances of Patrick's captivity. These circumstances point to Patrick's home as a very large Christian community which had suffered a barbarian raid. Patrick was one of many thousands made captive and sold into all parts of the world, because "we had turned away from God and had not kept His commandments and were not obedient to our priests." Neither North Britain nor South Britain had such a Christian community in the early fifth century. But Italy did possess just such a place and had its barbarian raid besides. Indeed in the very year 410, when the chronicle of Marianus Scotus dates Patrick's captivity, Rome had the famous raid by Alaric.[13]

Patrick's account of his return from captivity in Ireland to his own home is also difficult to reconcile with a British origin, and easy to understand if his home was in Italy. After a captivity of seven years in Ireland, Patrick is promised by the Angel a speedy return to his own country, "cito iturus ad patriam." He describes the journey in the *Confessio.* Two days across the sea, twenty-eight through a deserted land, and ten more until he arrived "ad homines". One would think that this was the end of the journey, the return to his own country, and the fulfillment of the Angel's promise. And all scholars admit that this journey

[12] *Op. cit.,* 26.

[13] McCarthy, B., *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus,* No. 830, Todd Lecture, Ser. III (1892).

took Patrick through Gaul to Italy. Bury, admitting this same thing, is patently embarrassed to get Patrick back home to Britain. And so would anyone be, who accepts the present text of the *Confessio*; for in the very next paragraph it tells of another captivity and more journeying, so that he does not see his home until after several years. If the text is correct, the Angel certainly took Patrick a long way around. But the context here makes us look for the natural fulfillment of the promise at the end of the journey as first described, and that was in Italy.[14]

Lastly, what Patrick said of his vocation as a missionary to Ireland strengthens the impression that his home was not Britain but Italy. His relatives at home opposed his going on the Irish mission. It was at home ("et ibi") that he first heard the divine call. It was therefore at home that he conquered the temptation not to heed it. It was from home that he set out to fulfill it. And there is certainly no tradition that Patrick was ordained in Britain, while there are good reasons to hold that he was ordained in Rome.

So much for the *Confessio* itself. It has places that point to Italy as Patrick's *patria*, despite the two texts which explicitly mention Britain. There is consequently room for an hypothesis that the original text clearly stated his Italian origin. In further support of this hypothesis, other Patrician documents give evidence of the same kind. They show that the text of the *Confessio* was not always as it is now, and that the original mentioned Italy and Rome as Patrick's *patria*.

The first of these documents is the so-called *Hymn* of Feacc, known from its first line as *Gennair Patraic*.[15] This Irish hymn is certainly earlier than the Armagh manuscript, and, as it seems to me, earlier than Muirchu. Stokes dates it about 800. It certainly represents a different tradition than that of the complete Muirchu. The first line of the *Hymn* reads "Patrick was born in Nemthur, so he relateth in story." The Irish word here trans-

[14] The MSS. also in this place mark the difficulty, since an important sentence is misplaced. Cf. par. 9 of *Acta Sanctorum*, Mart. II, 531, with *P. L.*, liii, c. 805.

[15] Stokes, *op. cit.*, 402; Lynch, P., *Life of St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1828).

lated "story" certainly refers to some work by Patrick himself, and more probably to the *Confessio*. Father Hogan, S. J., translates the last part of the first verse — "ut dixit in exgaltiis, i. e. in confessione sua."[16] Feacc's source did not know Bannavem Taberniae, but Nemthur. The *Hymn* continues to summarize Patrick's life, and in relating the return from Ireland to his *patria*, it runs: "The Angel took him across the sea, and across the Alps, and left him with Germanus in the South, in the Southern part of Latium." If the *Confessio* was Feacc's source, it was a *Confessio* different from the one known to us.

There is next the evidence from the memoir of Patrick by Tirechan, earlier in origin even than Feacc's *Hymn*.[17] Tirechan describes his source. He states that he had obtained from Bishop Ultan of Ardbraccan a book which contained details of Patrick's life before Patrick came to Ireland as bishop. And giving such details he refers them to Patrick himself, declaring: "Ut ipse dixit in commemoratione laborum." Some of these details we can recognize in our present *Confessio*; others are not found therein, and particularly one, agreeing with Feacc, that his journey took him "through mountainous districts through Gaul and Italy." Now Tirechan and Feacc are independent, at least in part; and both claim to depend on Patrick's own work. If this was the *Confessio*, it was not the same as the one we have.

Finally, I come to a piece of evidence that is said to be from Patrick himself. It is one of three *Dicta*, preserved in the Armagh manuscript and attributed with great probability to the Saint. It runs: "Timorem Dei habui ducem itineris mei per Gallias atque Italiam . . ." At first glance, one might think of this as the source of both Tirechan and Feacc. But it is not a book. It is not a memoir of Patrick's labors written by Patrick. It consists of only three lines, and is an entirely isolated document. Its agreement with Feacc and Tirechan is therefore all the more striking.

I should think it wholly probable that all three, Feacc, Tire-

[16] "Patrician Documents," *Irish Eccles. Record*, 3d Ser., VIII (1887), 229; cf. also Bury, *op. cit.*, 263.

[17] Stokes, *op. cit.*, 302; Bury, *op. cit.*, 248.

chan and the *Dictum*, depended on a text of the *Confessio* differing from ours. This conclusion, stated more pointedly, contains the idea that if the original text of the *Confessio* could be re-discovered, it would make Patrick's life story far more intelligible than it is at present. Instead of agreeing with Zimmer that the biographical details have been omitted, let us say that they have been obscured; that words, especially proper names, were first misspelled, and then mistaken; and that words were improperly run together, and then not recognized, like " indecha ut procul ", brilliantly corrected into " inde haud procul ".[18] Let us remember that one of the manuscript names of Patrick, *Cothrige*, is now recognized as an ancient Irish (British?) spelling of *Patrigius*.[19] There is also the analogous Irish usage of the rough breathing which made *omnes* and *abunde* look like *homines* and *habunde*. And finally let us point out that the manuscripts carried numbers not in words but in Roman numerals, always a prolific source of error.

Applying these ideas, we proceed to examine the text of the *Confessio*, in the part describing Patrick's journey from Ireland to his home (Nos. 19-23.).

The present text gives the impression that this journey was divided into two parts; the first part described in paragraphs 19 and 20; the second part described in paragraphs 21 and 22. The first part is set forth by the text with much detail as a voyage across the sea, a landing on the third day, twenty-eight days " per desertum ", and an arrival after ten more days. This first part is agreed by most scholars to have brought Patrick from Ireland through Gaul to Italy. The second part would therefore have brought him from Italy to his home in Britain, because the text in the beginning of paragraph 23 explicitly places him in Britain.

It is my purpose here to show that there was no second part to this journey. I believe that paragraphs 21 and 22 are not the description of any journeying subsequent to that described in paragraphs 19 and 20, but rather that the aforesaid paragraphs 21 and 22 are a chronological summary of paragraphs 19 and 20.

[18] Stokes, *op. cit.*, 494.

[19] Bury, *op. cit.*, 29.

The supposed second part of the journey is introduced by the words: "Et iterum post annos multos adhuc capturam dedi." These words have been interpreted to refer to a new incident, happening after what was previously described in paragraphs 19 and 20.[20] But they are more fittingly understood as a reflection on what went before. Indeed Professor Gwynn, interprets the phrase as a description of Patrick's condition as set forth in the previous paragraphs 19 and 20.[21] The text seems to mean: "And so, after many years as a captive in Ireland, I was again a captive in my escape." [22]

In the supposed second part of Patrick's journey home, the pretended second captivity is stated by the text to have been of sixty days' duration. Again Professor Gwynn's authority may be invoked for understanding this period of time, not as the length of some new incident, but as covering the period described in the previous paragraphs 19 and 20. Indeed Professor Gwynn expresses the opinion that the sixty days are to be dated from the day of departure from Ireland. Bury is also of the same opinion on this point.[23]

It is evident, therefore, that the text of the *Confessio* can be understood as containing no new incident of travelling in paragraphs 21 and 22. The only journeying mentioned in the text between Ireland and his home is that described in paragraphs 19 and 20. From this point of view, the conclusion might be logically drawn that paragraphs 21 and 22 are not the description of more journeying but a new description of the previous journey. They are a chronological summary of the preceding paragraphs.

Indeed this is the only logical conclusion. For it fits into other sections of the text in paragraph 22. This actually contains an explicit reference to the text of paragraph 19. Paragraph 19 had described a journey of twenty-eight days through a desert; and paragraph 22 explicitly refers to this, saying: "Sicut superius insinuavi, XX et VIII dies per desertum inter fecimus." More-

[20] Muirchu, *De alia capitivitate Patricii*, in Stokes, *op. cit.*, 495.
[21] *Op. cit.*, XXI, LXXXIII, N. I.
[22] For Bury's interpretation, cf. *op. cit.*, 294.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 34.

over, a similar reference to the previous paragraph may be seen in the mention of the food.

Detailed study of the text of the *Confessio* thus leads clearly to the deduction that paragraphs 21 and 22 are a chronological summary of paragraphs 19 and 20. This deduction would become more evident, if the present text were emended to read XLVIII *dies,* instead of as now XXVIII *dies,* in both places where the statement occurs. The change suggested would make the journey, described in paragraphs 19 and 20 consist of sixty days; two across the sea, *forty-eight* through the desert, and ten more until the arrival. It would therefore conform exactly to the chronology, stated in paragraph 21: "Duos menses eris cum illis . . . Nocte illa sexagesima liberavit me Dominus de manibus eorum." Errors in the transcription of Roman numerals are not infrequent in manuscripts. Dr. Gwynn's and Dr. Bury's understanding of the text would then appear quite evident. It may also be pointed out that the general understanding of the journey, described in paragraphs 19 and 20, as a journey through Gaul to Italy would become even more acceptable. The suggested emendation of the text would make fifty-eight days instead of thirty-eight days available for the journey on foot from some channel port to central Italy.

But most important of all is the idea that Patrick, in describing his journey from Ireland to his home, mentions no travelling after that which, it is agreed, ends in Italy. At the very end of paragraph 22, he is in Italy; and, therefore, the beginning of paragraph 23, which puts him in Britain, is to be regarded with suspicion. It is, in fact, the only phrase in this section of the *Confessio* which would prevent the immediate identification of Patrick's *patria* with that Italy to which he had described his return in such detail.

Before coming to a direct discussion of this outstanding text, attention may well be turned to another subject. Dr. Bury's remark about this portion of the *Confessio* that: "Names of men and places were of no concern and might be allowed to drop away," is apparently justified by the present text.[24] But it hardly fits

[24] *Ibid.*, 36.

into the certain geographical knowledge of the documents, which are dependent on the *Confessio.*

Feacc's *Hymn,* Tirechan's *Memoir,* Muirchu's *Life,* and Patrick's own *Dictum* are all remarkable for their geographical data. And a patent concern in the *Confessio* itself about chronology makes one wonder at its apparent neglect of geography. This lack becomes all the more worthy of consideration when attention is drawn to some things mentioned by the present text. Among these stands out the incident of the wild honey, set forth toward the end of the description of the homeward journey. As the text now goes: "They also found wild honey, and offered me a part. And one of them said, 'This is immolated.' Thanks be to God; thenceforth, I tasted nothing." This is a very peculiar narrative. One asks why among all the food taken during this journey, only the honey should be immolated. But as one scrutinizes the text carefully, there stand out several striking resemblances to the geographical data, whose absence was already a cause of wonder. The key-word of the incident, "Immolaticum", could well have been originally two words, namely *Immo Laticum,* with the meaning, "Verily, (or in truth,) Latium." There is a variant reading, *Immolatitium,* which confirms the opinion that the original read *Latium.* Indeed in Irish, *Latium* would easily be written *Laticum,* that is, with a rough breathing between the last two vowels. Finally one may recall in this regard that *Latium* is the very word used by Feacc to describe the end of Patrick's journey homeward.

Then there comes to mind the resemblance between the

MEL · SILVESTRE—of the present text,

and the—VALES · ELVETIAE,

which would be almost a necessity in the story of a journey through Gaul to Italy. Indeed some such reading must have been the source of Tirechan when he wrote of Patrick's travelling "in mountainous valleys." [25]

In addition to the two likenesses just mentioned, the wild honey

[25] *Op. cit.,* 302.

incident furnishes the even closer resemblance between the word *partem* of the text, and the word *patriam,* expected at the end of the journey.

Thus, it is not difficult to see in the strange incident of the present text, the obscuring of an original, which may be thus represented: "Etiam valles Helvetiorum finierunt, et me in patriam adtulerunt, et unus ex illis dixit, 'Hoc immo Latium est'; Deo gratias, ex inde nihil hesitavi." It may be noted that the last word of this revision also possesses a Patrician connotation. According to the *Dictum,* fear was Patrick's guide to Italy; the revision introduces the consequent notion of the fear's cessation at the border of Italy.

The changes suggested convert the extraordinary content of the present text into a very ordinary and intelligible description of the ending of the journey to Italy. Besides, they furnish an indication that the original text of the *Confessio* may not have neglected the element of geography as much as it now seems to do. On the contrary, they appear as quite plausible sources for those several Patrician documents which know so much of the geography of Patrick's journey homeward.[36]

In addition to what has been said above on the view that Patrick's homeward journey ended in Italy, I might also summon Muirchu as a witness; Dr. Gwynn has accounted for Muirchu's sources quite acceptably from No. 9 onward. And he shows equally well that the source for nos. 1-4 inclusive was undoubtedly the *Confessio* itself. But for Nos. 5-9, which included a journey from Britain through Gaul to Italy (at least projected, and partially carried out), no acceptable source is forthcoming. There are patent doublets in this part of Muirchu's account, *e. g.* the visit from Victoricus and the hearing of the voices from Ireland. Now if Muirchu had used two different texts of the *Confessio,* one our present text, the other a text containing mention of Gaul and Italy,

[36] I am tempted to suggest that a similar situation exists in regard to the phase "per desertum" of paragraph 19; it looks very much like "per Nestriam," and I should be much strengthened in the opinion that such was its original spelling, could I but find a fifth-century use of the name Neustria for that famous Frankish Kingdom.

Muirchu's source for this part (5-9) would be accounted for.[27] That such a situation must be supposed is shown in a comparison of the various accounts. The journey described in the *Confessio,* undertaken at the suggestion of an angel, and not refused by Patrick on account of the fear of God, took him, as scholars admit, through Gaul to Italy. The journey described by Patrick's *Dictum* had the fear of God as guide through Gaul to Italy. The journey described by Feacc was under the guidance of an angel and led through Gaul to Latium, where he found Germanus. Now the journey described by Muirchu (5-9) was also under the inspiration of God and had as purpose to visit Rome in Italy, but ended when he found Germanus. From this comparison there can be little doubt that Muirchu or his source knew an original like these others, which made Patrick's homeward journey end in Italy.

From various points of view consequently, the present text of the *Confessio* is subject to suspicion in this particular. Both its own general context and the documents which may well have depended on it, and even parts of its own text, indicate that in its original form it contained patent reference to Italy as the end of that famous journey, and therefore as Patrick's *patria.* In such an hypothesis, the words " in Britannis " of paragraph 23 cannot be regarded as authentic. Indeed, they are not found in the corresponding part in Muirchu, who in this place has " ut antea ". It is of course apparent that Muirchu did not need them in this part, for he had placed Patrick in Britain previously.[28] But it is also evident that in so doing, Muirchu had misread the *Confessio.* Where that text read " Et protinus ", Muirchu wrote " Ad Britanias ". It may well be that in this other place, the pendant of that former error remains. I suggest consequently that instead of the present reading in paragraph 23, IN · BRITANNIS, there should be read VT · BRIKRINVS, which would be the equivalent of VT · PEREGRINVS.

The suggested reading is not only similar to the present text, but is also Patrician, as is evident from the use of the same word

[27] Gwynn, *op. cit.,* xxiii. [28] Stokes, *op. cit.,* 495.

in the *Confessio* (26), "proselyto et peregrino". With this may be compared the phrase of *Epistola* 1, "proselytus et profuga".

The text change just proposed is really the only absolutely important one among all those mentioned hitherto in this essay. These others may be regarded as very probable, like the change in the numerals, or as merely ingenious. The main purpose of their presence here is to fortify the general thesis, and in particular to prepare the way for this last one, "ut peregrinus", instead of "in Britannis".

The result of the whole first portion of this essay is a probability that Patrick's *patria* was Italy. But the theory itself goes beyond that. It holds that Patrick was born in Rome. This second part will be presented under the form of a criticism of the introduction of the *Confessio*.

The *Confessio* begins with the narration of Patrick's genealogy, naming father, grandfather and great-grandfather. It also describes the father as a deacon, and the great-grandfather as a presbyter. But the texts are not always identical. Some give only two, others three, generations. Some make the father presbyter, others give this title to the grandfather, others still to the great-grandfather. In compensation, as it were, the texts distribute the title deacon.

On the other hand, the introduction is silent about the place of Patrick's birth. It does indeed name the village, in which his father or grandfather was born. And this is the mysterious Bannavem. Besides, the introduction does not mention the town Nemptor, which the *Vitae* know as Patrick's birthplace, nor does it refer to the country in which this birthplace was situated, much less to Italy as that country. Altogether it is an unusual introduction.

For a criticism of this introduction it is most important to note that only the *Confessio* itself and Muirchu's *Life* mention Bannavem.[29] All the other Patrician documents are silent about it. Feacc omits both Bannavem and Taberniae. The *Vita Secunda*

[29] Probus who also mentions it, depends on Muirchu. Cf. Bury, *op. cit.*, 274. The *Life* by Probus is the *Vita Quinta* of Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, Lovan., 1647.

says: "Patrick was born in Campo Taburnae so called because the Roman armies once pitched their tabernacula there during the winter cold, whence it was called Campus Tabern." The *Vita Tertia* says: "He was born in Campo Taburniae", and continues with the same explanation as the *Vita Secunda*. The *Vita Quarta* says the same thing more briefly. It is evident therefore that the Bannavem Taberniae of the *Confessio* was read *Campum Taburniae* by all the early biographers except Muirchu.

The manuscript tradition may be represented as follows: BANAUM TABERNIAE (*Confessio*), KAMPUM TABERNIAE (*Vitae*). Read HAMNEM TIBERINAM.

The revision means "the river Tiber." It closely resembles the words of the text; it names something easily recognizable as Italian, and indeed already spontaneously suggested by Taberniae. Furthermore, it supplies the source for the river which overflowed near Patrick's home, and which is constantly mentioned in the *Vitae*. Perhaps, even the famous *well* may also be traced back to this. Finally, it gives an explanation of why two places are named in the *Vitae*, as the place of Patrick's birth. One is named as near the other. The *Confessio* has *vico* = *iuxta*; others may have had *abud* = *apud*.

For, there is another place mentioned in all the *Vitae* as the place of Patrick's birth. Every Patrician document except the *Confessio* gives to the place where Patrick was born the name Nempthur or Empthor. Feacc: "Patrick was born in Nempthur". *Vita II:* "Patrick was born in that town Nemthur by name". *Vita III:* "Patrick was born in that town Nempthur, by name. He was reared in Nempthor". *Vita IV:* "Patrick was born in that town, Nemthor by name, which put into Latin would be Heavenly Tower, and was reared in the town Nemthor by name". *Vita V:* (Probus) speaks of *vico Bannave* thus: "quem vicum . . . comperimus esse Nentriae provinciae". *Vita VI:* refers to Patrick's father as "dwelling beside Empthor". *Vita VII:* "Patrick was reared in Nempthor". *Leabhar Breac* has "at Nempthor was he born: Patrick was reared in Nemthor". Muirchu had given *Ventre* as the site of this Bannavem.

Practically all scholars assume that Nemthur, Nemthor, Empthor, Nentriae, and Ventre are all the same place. And it is also assumed that the initial *N* is euphonious, belonging to the previous preposition.[30]

But I would like to call attention to the fact that several of the texts above include the word *nomine*; and that both Muirchu and Probus have no preposition in front of the place-name itself. These two also write Ven, and Nen, whereas the others have Nem, or Em. Lastly, I note that Probus has *provinciae*, where the other *Vitae* have *nomine*. It seems that we are in presence of two slightly, but really different, traditions.

My solution lies, as was already stated in the first part of this essay, in the identification of the birthplace with the city of Rome. A comparison of the spellings of the place-name suggests a common ending *uria;* and with the search already pointed toward Italy, the ending *uria* at once suggests *urbe*. Consequently, it is probable that one set of traditions was based on an original *En-urbe*, which would have been written HENHORVE. The other set of traditions, characterized by the presence of *M* instead of *N*, and also by the presence sometimes of *P*, could find its origin in the spelling ROMA·HVRBE. The variants here would be reduced to the error of mistaking the initial *R* for an initial *H*, and the reading *Hamptoria*.

This solution may be strengthened by a glance at the similar situation prevailing in the sources, as regards Patrick's ordination. In Muirchu, the place is spelled *Ebmoria* in the Armagh manuscript, and *In Curbia* in the Brussels manuscript. It is the seat of a bishop, who is called *summus aepiscopus*. He is also named *Aepiscopum Amathorege*. In another place in the same life by Muirchu, he is indirectly referred to as Germanus. Now all these are the same person, none other in fact than the Bishop of Rome. He is *summus aepiscopus*. That he is also Germanus is easy to

[30] "The Birthplace of St. Patrick," *Irish Eccles. Record* (July, 1899), 12; "St. Fiecc's Poem," *Irish Eccles. Record* (March, 1868), 282. The references to the different *Vitae* are from Colgan, *op. cit.* There is a copy of this rare folio, the best collection of the ancient *Vitae* of the Saint, in the Treasure Room of the Harvard Library.

see by writing Gromanus. The initial *G* is only the rough breathing that modifies the really important *R*. Furthermore, this *Episcopus Romanus* is also the one called *Amathorege*. His identification with Germanus is already implied in Muirchu. And the obscured Roman meaning is echoed in the *Vita Tripartita*, where *Amathorege* is called "King of the Romans".[31] The explanation of the spelling is again found in the breathing. The word was undoubtedly written *Hamathorig*, and was an error for the original Ramathorik. It is quite surely the adjective form of Empthor, and thus throws light on the meaning of Empthor. In other words Amathorik was the bishop "of Empthor". His see was "in Curbia", that is, "in Urbe", and that gives sense to the variants Ebmoria and Euboria; their original was Enorbia.

There are many other things of a similar kind which might be added regarding the place of Patrick's ordination. These few, however, indicate the reasons to be drawn from its study in favor of the interpretation given to Empthor and Nempthor as place of birth.

What Feacc and other biographers wrote represents an original *Roma Hurbe*, or merely *Hin Hurbe*. Patrick was born in Rome.[32]

What has been set forth might indeed suffice for this whole essay. It would have proposed for the mysterious Bannavem Taberniae a hypothetical reading which both satisfies the several Patrician documents, and also eliminates the mystery. Perhaps mention might also be made of the fact that when Bannavem is treated as a Celtic word, it means "a plain by a river", and thus recalls the *Campum* of the *Vitae*, and the *Amnem* of the revision.[33]

But there remains the necessity of connecting this revision with the rest of the introduction in which the place-name occurs. In

[31] Stokes, *op. cit.*, 34.

[32] Perhaps the explanation of *Nomine*, following Emthor in the *Vitae* may be found by reading *Romana*: and similarly the origin of Probus' *Provinciae* may have been *Kromanae*. As an interesting item in this connection, I recall that there was a place in Rome on the Tiber, called Emporium. Mgr. O'Brien used this name, but sought its identification in a city in Spain. ("The Birthplace of St. Patrick," *Irish Eccles. Record*, July, 1899, 12-13.)

[33] Healy, *op. cit.*, 21.

this regard, the word *Presbyteri* at once attracts attention. It so closely resembles the well-known Roman district, Trastiberi, that after what has been said, the identification is practically inevitable. And it will appear the more so, when it is more closely studied.

It is the title of Odissus, whom the texts present as Patrick's great-grandfather. The text here followed is that of the Cotton manuscript. The Armagh manuscript omits it from the text, but has it in the margin in the same hand. However, Muirchu is remarkable in not having this particular name. Where the others give three generations, Muirchu gives only two, omitting Odissi. In its place, the Muirchu text has *Ortus*. Thus what the others read Odissi, Muirchu probably read *Ortus*. Therefore, I suggest that the original of FILIKI·ODISSI·PRESBITERI was HILLIK·ORTVS·E TRASTIBERI.

This revision takes away part of Patrick's ecclesiastical genealogy. Indeed it opens up the question of that genealogy itself, so mixed in the sources. Some documents refer to Patrick's father as a deacon, others as a decurion. For the previous generations, the *Vita Secunda,* the *Vita Tertia* and the *Vita Quarta* are all silent on either presbyter or deacon. In fine, suspicion is aroused whether the introduction originally contained any genealogy at all. One seeks in an introduction the place whence the person came, before the name of his father and grandfather. Even Muirchu's inexplicable Prologus, which so strangely mixes up Patrick and Basil of Caesarea, begins "tempus, locus et persona requiruntur. Locus dicitur a . . . " The *Vitae* in general begin with a statement about Patrick's birth-place.

I am therefore led to suggest that the original text of the *Confessio* also began in like fashion. Thus I would revise "Patrem habui" into "Patriam habui". The word *patria* is frequently used in the *Confessio* and the *Epistola,* but the word *pater* is found only here, and once in the *Epistola.*

Next I propose for the name of Patrick's reputed father KALIPVRNIVM the reading KELEBERIMAM, and make it refer to the *patriam.* And in this connection, I am reminded of

Feacc's difficult second stanza. " . . . what his father was is *well-known.*"

Patrick's reputed father is referred to in the *Confessio* as *diaconum;* but in the *Epistola* as a *decorion.* Writing the first of these with the breathing, as the Irish would, the following comparison is available: DIKAKONVM—DEKORIONEM—so I read —DIKO·ROMAM.

Thus in the introduction, what now reads "Patrem habui Kalipurnium, dikakonum", becomes "Patriam habui keleberimam, dico Romam". And the phrase which follows, reading at present: FILIVM KVONDAM PHOTIDI could be revised to read: VEL·EAM KVONDAM TRADIDI. For this revision many reasons may be adduced. First of all, there is the value of retaining the more difficult reading *quondam,* in presence of the variant *quendam.* Next, there stand out the diverse spellings of the supposed grandfather's name in the documents. In one ancient manuscript, referred to by Cardinal Moran, the name is spelled *Fotid.*[34] In the *Tripartitia,* it is *Potid,* in Feacc, *Otid.* Thus the name probably ended in *-di,* and began with *Ph.* The idea that it originally read *Tradidi* was suggested by Patrick's use of this combination in Epistle 1: "Pro quibus tradidi patriam." Such a reading also fitted into the sense contained in the previous *habui.* It is therefore my opinion that the underlying meaning of the text in the *Confessio* is that he had a *patriam,* but long since he had sacrificed it to preach in a foreign land. I read: "Patriam habui keleberimam, dico Romam. Vel eam quondam tradidi. Illic ortus e Trastevere . . . " Thus disappears Patrick's genealogy, ecclesiastical or otherwise. Thus also in its place is introduced the more important and expected biographical data about the land of his birth.

This general result of the text criticism of the Introduction to the *Confessio* can be made even more striking by an application to Patrick of the two verbs, that now refer to some member of his family. The first of these occurs in the phrase KVI·FVIT·VIKO, etc. I would suggest here the reading—

[34] "The Birthplace of St. Patrick," *Dublin Review,* January-April, 1880, 299.

KVR · EVI · IVXTA, etc., that is, "I grew up near". This reading recalls the word *crescens* of the *Vitae*.

The second of these verbs occurs at the end of the introduction, in the sentence: "Villulam enim prope habuit ubi ego (in) capturam de(ci)di". For this I suggest . . . "habitavi quum capturam dedi". The word *ego* is not necessary to the sense, and the word *in* does not occur in all the manuscripts.

This change of the verbs completes the transformation of the introduction, which is thereby made to contain those biographical details now so noticeably absent. *Ortus, crevi, havitavi:* all lead up to the *capturam dedi,* and the *annorum eram tunc fere* XVI.

What I have set forth is a theory. It is meant to supply an answer to many varying texts and thus to account for the variants. It offers a hypothetical original, from which the extant documents could have drawn their differing contents. It depends in great part upon the fact that the Irish mode of writing Latin, in conformity with their pronunciation, introduced the breathing, and thus confused the transcribers. It also comes close to the suspicion that in the Roman-British controversy of the seventh century, the British element was made explicit at the expense of the historical truth. This suspicion, however, I merely mention, with the suggestion that it may supply the motive for what could hardly have always been an accidental text corruption. My main purpose has been to present the theory itself.

As I see Patrick's story, there were but two lands dominating his life: Rome, his *patria;* and Ireland, the *terra aliena.* He was born in Rome, made captive in Rome, returned from captivity to Rome, became conscious of his vocation in Rome, studied and was ordained in Rome, and departed on his mission to Ireland from Rome. All this corresponds to one of the *Dicta,* attributed to him personally: "Ut Christiani estis, ita et Romani sitis."

JOHN E. SEXTON.

NOTES ON EARLY CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN SPANISH FLORIDA*

Maurice Keatinge, in his garbled translation (1800) of Fray Alonso Remón's garbled version of the manuscript of that blunt old soldier, Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1632), written when the old war-horse was in his eighty-fourth year, makes the latter say:

> . . . I relate that of which I was an eye witness, and not idle reports and hearsay: for truth is sacred. Gomara received and wrote such accounts as were intended to enhance the fame and merit of Cortes; no mention being made by him of our valiant captains and soldiers.[1]

Now Díaz del Castillo does not say this at all, as the published version of the manuscript itself (1904) by the Mexican scholar, Genaro García, and the translation into English of it by Maudsley (1908 and 1928) reveal. But the story is good enough to be true, as I used to tell my children when, after some preposterous tale, they would ask: "But, Daddy, is it true?" For it is quite true that Díaz del Castillo did write of the common soldier and his deeds of valor, this constituting one of the chief charms of his book. The reason for this introduction will emerge later.

For my paper before this genial assembly, I have chosen the somewhat general subject: *Notes on Early Church Government in Spanish Florida.* Perhaps a more exact title would be: *Notes on the Secular Clergy and Secular Ecclesiastical Officials of Spanish Florida.* That is to say, I am not going to speak of the missions and missionaries of Florida. Besides, a work on the Florida missions, begun before her death by that gifted woman, Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor, is now being brought to completion by Miss Florence Spofford, of Washington, and in due course of

* Read at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Boston, Mass., December 29, 1930.

[1] See the edition of *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York, 1927), translated from the original Spanish by Maurice Keatinge, with an Introduction by Arthur D. Howden Smith, I, xxii.

time will be published, I hope, under the auspices of The Florida State Historical Society.

In the opening sentence of his illuminating book: *Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico,* recently published by the Duke University Press, Dr. Charles S. Braden says:

> History records no more interesting or romantic story than that of the sixteenth century conquest and conversion of the natives in the lands now known as Latin America.

This is very true; and it is equally true that we know rather well the story of the missions in almost all parts of the Indies, including the Philippine Islands; certainly, we know the story somewhat closer than in its broad outlines. The reason, of course, is because the compelling interest and the historical value of the work of the conversion and the greatness of the idea back of it have been apparent and a knowledge of it necessary if the history of the Spanish planting in the New World be understood aright. Spanish Florida, like all other regions of the Spanish Indies, had its missions, many zealous missionaries, and not a few martyrs.

On the other hand, the story of the secular clergy in the Spanish Indies—including the parish priest, those of episcopal and higher rank, and other secular ecclesiastical persons—is not known in anything like the detail of that of the missions. To you, who are, perhaps, directing seminars, may I commend the study of the parish priest and allied ecclesiastical agents as a field worth investigation? Systematic study of this inviting subject would be of immense value in judging aright the social aspects of Spanish colonization—certainly, it would be a factor in such evaluation. Regional studies along these lines during Spanish domination would gradually result in a knowledge of the whole field of the Spanish Indies; and the same thing should be done for the Portuguese American Indies. The mission movement was more spectacular. But it would be well to inquire how far the work of the secular clergy has been a factor in moulding the populations which have emerged from the results of Spanish or Portuguese colonization. The secular clergy—I do not speak here of those occupying episcopal positions—occupied a seemingly hum-

bler position in religious work in the Indies during the colonization era than did the missionary who was generally a member of one of the regular Orders or of the Society of Jesus. This observation is not at all to be regarded as a defense of the one at the expense of the other. It is rather an inquiry and a suggestion that the study of the secular clergy in the Indies is worth greater emphasis than has yet been given to it. I venture to hazard that the net result of the study will show that the secular parish priest is deserving of greater credit in the conquest and colonization of the Indies than has generally been allowed.

Some little inquiry, indeed, has been made. It would not be well, for instance, to forget that Dr. John Gilmary Shea, in the first volume of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* namely, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (1886), devotes two chapters to "The Church in Florida," one discussing the period: 1513-1690, and the other, the period: 1690-1763; and that he has other chapters dealing with the Church in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. In these chapters he gives (together with other religious data) considerable, and, on the whole, accurate, information regarding the secular clergy or organization. So far as Florida is concerned, he had not seen, it is true, all the materials, for much has been uncovered within recent years; but he saw enough to show something of Church development during the period treated by him. We are, indeed, fortunate that he has pointed out the way in this interesting study. Again references to the secular priesthood and to the various Sees in the Indies exist in many books, both ancient and modern, which are easily obtainable.

Perhaps, now, the reason for the rather obscure opening of this paper with the allusion to what has been put into the pen of Bernal Díaz del Castillo is clear and not too far-fetched. Many eminent persons have written of the missions of the Indies. Few have written of the secular organization. The allusion is not made in any discriminatory manner, but rather offers a parallel. Might I venture to suggest another parallel? If one were to write the social history of Boston and its environs from the viewpoint of its Puritanic background alone, and neglect such factors

as the Irish immigrant and the French Canadian—well, just what would be the result?

In the following pages, then, I propose to say something of the secular clergy in early Spanish Florida, ending specifically with the erection of the auxiliary bishopric of Santiago de Cuba in the year 1705, the incumbent of which was to reside in Florida, and his arrival in 1709. This, I trust, will be a small contribution to the larger study mentioned above. What I shall say is by no means to be regarded as definitive, because I have not yet seen all the materials upon which a complete study must be based. Most of the data here presented are taken from photostatic copies of original manuscripts existing in the Archivo de Indias at Seville, which were made, after investigation through Miss Irene A. Wright, for The Florida State Historical Society. Only those documents which have been indexed by the Society have been used; so that one must premise the existence of considerable material which has not yet been studied, but which will come to light as the present unindexed material is made available. Considerable material will doubtless be found among letters from the Governor of Florida and the royal officials and others which (whether these photostats are indexed or not) have not been examined for lack of time.

During the first period of Spanish domination, Florida occupied a somewhat unusual position, both with regard to its civil and its ecclesiastical administration. The early explorations had been conducted on the assumption and with the hope that treasure of untold value awaited only the gatherer—a comparatively true assumption, but in a sense far different from the thought of that day. When disillusionment in this respect came, after the fruitless expeditions of Ponce de León, Narvaez, Soto, Luna y Arellano, and Villafañe, and after Spain began to fear for its rich possessions of New Spain and Peru because of the menacing attitude of the French and English, Florida was envisaged as a protective outpost—a buffer colony. It would never do to have such troublesome neighbors too near. The way must be kept clear for the treasure ships which were bearing the gold and the

silver of the Indies to the mother country. Above all, the Bahama Channel and adjacent waters must be kept under Spanish control.

The reports of actual French settlements at Port Royal and Fort Caroline aroused Spain to action. There followed the memorable expedition of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the blotting out of Fort Caroline. From the collapse of French hopes rose the permanent occupation of Florida by Spain and the first Spanish settlement within the present limits of continental United States.

But until 1763, when Florida became an English possession, the colony was never self-supporting. Nay, more, it was actually poverty-stricken. Alarmed by the continual outlay and the paucity of return, even in a protective way—St. Augustine was burned, it will be remembered, by Drake in 1586—it was proposed in 1602 that the colony be abandoned. Wiser arguments, partly material, partly religious, however, prevailed, and the colony was maintained. It was supported largely by subventions from Mexico, and when these failed to reach St. Augustine because of the failure to collect, the dishonesty of officials, shipwreck, hostilities with warring European nations, or piracy, much suffering ensued.

Although logically it might seem that Florida should be subordinate to the audiencia of Santo Domingo, in reality it was a crown colony and depended, so far as its civil and judicial administration was concerned, directly on the crown. In religious matters it depended on the bishopric of Santiago de Cuba, whose See was located at Havana; and it maintained this character, not only during the first, but during the second, Spanish occupation. Until Pensacola was founded in the eighteenth century, St. Augustine remained the only settlement. Its population grew so slowly that in 1646, the three hundred soldiers of its garrison comprised most of the Spaniards there;[2] and in 1735, its inhabitants numbered approximately 1500.[3] As usual in other parts of the Indies, the population of the doctrinas and missions was almost solidly

[2] Diez de la Calle, *Memorial y Noticias sacras y reales del Imperio de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1646), fol. 24.

[3] Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, 469.

Indian. The poverty and the scant population of the colony, it is obvious, furnished the reason, and a very valid reason, for not making St. Augustine an episcopal See.

Spain's solicitude—and this was real—for the conversion of the Indians brought about the great missionary movement of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries; and in this movement, for the most part, members of the several religious Orders were used. The religious, indeed, formed the only mobile body of ecclesiastical persons who could be thus employed. But with respect to administration in religious matters to Spaniards engaged in expeditions for discovery, exploration, and settlement, a different procedure was naturally followed; although it must be noted that in some expeditions, both regulars and seculars participated. For stable settlements, moreover, the diocesan form of religious administration prevailed. It was so in Florida. In the first expedition of Ponce de León, it is not known for a certainty whether he was accompanied by any ecclesiastical person. On his second expedition, he was undoubtedly accompanied by one or more priests. Narvaez had several secular priests with him, and so did Soto. In both these expeditions, the loss of all religious paraphernalia reduced the celebrants to saying "dry Masses". Luna y Arellano had several Dominicans with him and apparently several seculars. Menéndez de Avilés had as his chaplain a secular priest, Francisco López de Mendoza Grajales—he who tells the story of the founding of St. Augustine and events connected with the overthrow of the French. He it was who celebrated the first Mass in the new settlement on September 8, 1565. He acted as chaplain to the garrison and, in 1566, upon the arrival of five additional priests, became vicar and parish priest. He was, consequently, the first parish priest in Florida after the founding of St. Augustine.[4]

Quite naturally, one of the first acts in the new settlement had

[4] See his "Relacion de la jornada de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés", in *Colección de Documentos inéditos . . . América y Oceania*, III, 441-479; Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida* (Madrid, 1893), II, 431-465; and an English translation in *Old South Leaflets*, No. 89.

been the construction of a church edifice, albeit, this was but a poor structure, as one might imagine, for it was built of perishable materials. In a short time, also, a real parish church was constructed as well as a Franciscan church and convent. In the continual poverty that assailed Florida, the erection and maintenance of a suitable parish church constituted a serious problem. In 1586, Drake captured, looted, and burned St. Augustine, and not even the church was left standing.

In 1606, the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba made a visit of inspection of the ecclesiastical estate in Florida. He reported that the church edifice was in fair condition, although it was only a wooden structure. It was desperately poor, however, and could boast not even of a candle. Accordingly, the bishop requested that the tithes be so distributed that there might be a fund for the upkeep of the church and its service.[5] But as late as 1621, the church still had no income or maintenance fund, and no alms or hope for any, as is eloquently set forth in a petition of January 15.[6] The inhabitants of the city were daily becoming poorer, being soldiers with very little pay and that in arrears. Moreover, the revenue obtained from the tithes was very slight. Unless some aid be granted, the service of divine worship must cease—"which will be a pity".

Another petition of July 7, 1623, emphasized again the needs of the church.[7] The building was so old and dilapidated that it was crumbling to pieces. The petition feelingly stated that it was but just that the temple of the true God should have the greatest decency and adornment possible, especially since this would inspire the natives. The church was still without income other than what the king might choose to give it. The monarch

[5] Governor Ibarra to the King, April 8, 1606; original MS. in Archivo de Indias, est. 54, caj. 5, leg. 9, No. 69. Manuscripts in the Archivo de Indias will henceforth be cited in these notes simply by numbers, *e. g.*, 54-5-9, No. 69. It should be noted that the archives have recently been reclassified and that the classification used in this paper no longer is the true one. With the key, however, the present classification can easily be ascertained. See also Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 159-161.

[6] 54-5-20, No. 23.

[7] 53-2-11.

was, therefore, asked to grant the tithes of the city to the service of the church for twenty years, which would allow the necessary repairs to be made. It was probably in answer to this petition that the king, on September 7, 1626, ordered the sum of 2000 *pesos* for one single time to be granted to the church from ecclesiastical vacancies in Tlascala, Mexico, and that for six years the balance of the tithes of that city be also granted to it.[8] Once more, on October 2, 1626, the Council of the Indies approved aid for the church.[9] On November 7, of the same year, the grant of 2000 *pesos* was petitioned from Tlascala, but with no result. The Bishop of Santiago de Cuba in a letter of 1634, states that when the royal officials of Tlascala were asked to pay over the money, they refused, saying that there was no money in their keeping for that purpose.[10] To meet the urgent need, the bishop petitioned a grant of 2000 ducats to be made from that part of the tithes belonging to the Church in Mexico or Tlascala or wherever it might be collected. A similar petition of March 2, 1635, bewailed the wretched condition of the church and the small sum derived from the tithes in St. Augustine.[11] The soldiers, as the petition stated, were all poverty stricken and there was no one who could aid the church. By 1645, still nothing had been done.

On November 22, 1690,[12] the king by a royal decree ordered repairs to be made on the parish church, but whether or no these repairs were ever executed, I can not yet tell, though I suspect not. In 1702, came the crowning disaster: the English colonists under Moore once more burned and looted St. Augustine, leaving scarcely twenty houses standing. Among the edifices burned was the church. Rising to the necessity, the Council of the Indies advised the king that he have the parish church rebuilt and suggested that the sum of 20,000 *pesos* be allocated for that purpose from vacancies in the Dioceses of La Puebla de los Angeles, Guatemala, and Guadalajara—this sum to be distributed in proper

[8] 53-1-6, No. 38.

[9] *Ibid.*, No. 39.

[10] The petition of November 7, 1626, is cited in the bishop's letter and petition of 1634 (54-5-20).

[11] 54-5-18, No. 17.

[12] 58-2-6, No. 19.

proportion for the rebuilding of the church and for other needs.[13] As late as 1709, upon the arrival of the first auxiliary bishop in Florida, nothing had been done, for there was no adequate parish church.[14]

From what has already been said, it is apparent that the matter of the religious administration of the Spaniards was taken seriously from the beginning. This is further attested by the many royal decrees sent to the Governor and royal officials of Florida and to the Bishop of Cuba, as well as by many other documents of a varied nature. However, because of the smallness and poverty of the colony, the force of the secular clergy in Florida was never large nor ever quite adequate for its needs. At first, and for many years, that force consisted of a parish priest in St. Augustine, a chaplain in the fort and a soldier sacristan who aided the parish priest. Only after 1666, was the head sacristan a priest. In a despatch of August 1, 1698, the king granted the parish church of St. Augustine a priest organist at an annual salary of 200 ducats.[15] Unfortunately, when the first appointee reached the city, he found both church and organ had been burned by the English and he could not be used for the specific duty for which he was appointed.

The clergy were aided more or less by certain confraternities or brotherhoods, chief among which was that of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. The parish priest was hard put to it for acolytes or altar boys. Indeed, as late as 1697, we learn from a memorial of the parish priest, Alonso de Leturiondo, which was sent to the king on February 11,[16] the priests were insufficient for the proper administration of the church, since he and the head sacristan were the only ones and could not attend to everything, for one must be at the altar and the other in the choir, and there was no one to assist at the Mass. He was forced to rely for aid on boys who volunteered their services and therefore could not be depended upon. Often, he says, he had to wait for an hour until some per-

[13] In a consultation of April 30, 1703 (58-1-28, No. 2).
[14] 58-1-23, No. 401 (July 20, 1709).
[15] 58-1-22, No. 470. [16] 54-5-13, No. 102.

son came along whom he could impress into the work. Accordingly, he asked for a subsidy for two acolytes who would serve continuously. Moreover, the religious were so short-handed that it was difficult to get any help from them. It may be surprising, perhaps, to think of the parish priest delaying the Mass for over an hour until he could gather some one from the highways and byways, but it was a legitimate complaint; and the necessity for such action only serves to accentuate the dreadful poverty of early Florida.

It is difficult to see how a larger force could have been supported, especially if one remembers that Florida was only a very small corner of a far-flung empire, and one of the least important. In the beginning, as above noted, the duties of sacristan had been performed by a soldier, who received therefore only his compensation as a soldier. A royal decree of March 8, 1665, directed the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba to appoint a sacristan for the parish church of St. Augustine, who should be an ecclesiastic, and to provide for him a moderate salary.[17] It was doubly important that an ecclesiastic be appointed to this post, for the governor and the parish priest both had need of the services of the soldier sacristan at the same time, one for military employment and the other for assistance in divine service. A letter of April, 1666, stated that no person suitable for the position could be found in Florida, but that for an annual salary of two hundred *pesos* one could be brought from Havana.[18] The appointment of an ecclesiastical person would have the benefit of freeing the parish priest from any reliance on the religious, between whom and himself there seems to have been at times little, if any, co-operation. The chaplain of the fort was very old and feeble and could be of no extra assistance; and conversely, the sacristan could be of aid in the fort. To meet the difficulty, the bishop caused an announcement to be placed on the church door in Havana, proclaiming that if any priest, of whom there were many in Havana, cared to volunteer for the position of sacristan in St. Augustine, he

[17] Cited in a letter from the Bishop of Cuba to the king, June 20, 1666 (54-3-1).

[18] *Ibid.*

should report to the bishop. It is not surprising that no one offered from among that class even at the bait of the salary of two hundred *pesos*; for Florida was not a coveted post because of the miserable conditions prevailing there. The bishop reported several times, indeed, that it was often difficult to induce the religious who had been assigned to Florida in Spain, to go through to their destination, since they preferred to remain in Havana at the convent of their Order; and the king issued several decrees regarding this reluctance. Finally, two students in grammar volunteered, one a native of St. Augustine and the other of Havana. The bishop's synodal examiners, to whom the matter was communicated, thought it would be better for them to remain at their studies until December of that year, and that then they be presented for choice. In agreeing to this, the bishop expressed his opinion that the native of St. Augustine would be the better choice, for he was already accustomed to the poverty and conditions of Florida. I hope the bishop was vindicated in this, for his judgment seems remarkably sane, and that the St. Augustine youth was sent. However, I am not certain of this.

In the late seventeenth century, the king attempted to have secular priests allocated to the mission field in Florida, but the project was finally abandoned for want of men; the mission field was left to the regulars, and wisely so, for the seculars and regulars in Spanish Florida seem never to have gotten on any too well together. The Bishop of Cuba, while he attempted to execute the royal decrees in this regard, was not favorable to the project, and the same is true of most of the civil officials.[19]

The three secular priests in St. Augustine must have had plenty to do. Until 1763, Florida's population consisted largely of soldiers and army dependents, *encomenderos,* a few farmers, a few trades-people, a few engaged in other pursuits, and the civil list. It was, on the whole, a drab enough colony, and offered little of larger interest, except when something unusual happened like the assault by Drake—contacts generally not of advantage to the

[19] This is touched on in several manuscripts; *e. g.*, the Bishop of Cuba to the king (54-3-2, No. 3).

colony. St. Augustine was essentially a frontier town with many of the vices and virtues of such a community. There must have been many quarrels which none but the priests could compose. It is unusual for a soldier community to be mild mannered and St. Augustine was probably true to type. It is not surprising to find the governor and the clergy sometimes at loggerheads, and the secular clergy airing differences and voicing complaints against the regulars, and vice versa. Such events, while not especially edifying, had at least the effect of varying the monotony of existence.

The matter of the support and maintenance of the secular clergy was a momentous and important one. It depended in part, at least theoretically, on the tithes, and since, as seen above, Florida depended largely on subventions from Mexico for its support, as well as from various other sources, including direct grants by the king. But, as intimated above, the priests, like the officials and the soldiers, were never sure of receiving even a moiety of their salary. It might be well to examine briefly the matter of tithes.

The regulations governing tithes in the Indies are laid down in the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (Book I, title XVI). In general, though with some exceptions, these regulations held good in Florida. At least, one can say that they represented the intentions of the crown with regard to tithes.

Law I. declared that the tithes were to be collected by the royal officials since they belonged to the king. From them, the sovereign was to provide the churches with persons of good life who were suitable to serve therein, as well as all the ornaments and other things necessary for divine worship. Tithes were to be paid, declared law II. on all grains, animals, cacao, and various other articles including milk, butter, and cheese that were sold, fruits, wool, honey, wax, and bees. They were payable at the parish church of each district. To ensure payment of tithes no one might leave any given district until he had paid the amount owing (law XV), and collections were to be made on all lands belonging to the crown (law XVI). No personal tithes were to be paid (law XX), but first-fruits were to be gathered in the Indies in the same manner as in Seville (law XXI). Law XXIII. decrees the manner in which the tithes shall be divided. Those belonging to the cathedral church were divided into four equal parts. Two of these parts were allocated to the prelate and the cathedral

chapter. The other two parts were divided into nine equal parts, of which two-ninths were set aside for the king, three-ninths for the maintenance of the cathedral church and hospital, and the other four-ninths, after paying the salaries of the parish priests, were given to the chapter. The latter body, which had already received one-fourth of the whole proceeds of the tithes, was to use its share in paying the endowment, the salaries of the canons and other prebends, the rations and media rations, and other items. In the parish church, the whole proceeds were divided similarly into four equal parts, two parts of which were for the prelates and chapter; and the other two parts divided into nine equal parts. Of these, two-ninths were for the king, three-ninths for the maintenance of the parish church and hospital (for the latter, one-half of one-ninth), while, four-ninths were employed in the maintenance of the priests and their assistants. To safeguard the collection, law XXXI declares that collections were not to be made by ecclesiastics or by any one else sharing in them.

Others laws from the *Recopilación* having some bearing on the secular clergy are as follows: One law (Book I, title II, law II) provided that churches built for cathedral churches shall be built in a proper manner, the cost thereof being apportioned by thirds among the royal treasury, the Indians of the archbishopric or bishopric and the *encomenderos* to whom Indians shall have been allotted. In the case of Spaniards not having *encomiendas*, they were to pay something and the sums so paid by them were to be deducted from the amounts paid by the Indians and the *encomenderos*. Law III of the same title provided for the building of parish churches much in the same manner as in the case of cathedral churches. As a matter of equity, law IV declared that the portion contributed by the *encomenderos* for the building of a parish church was to be used in that special place. By law VIII, the prelates of the churches were strictly charged to see that the regulations laid down for the building and maintenance of churches be observed. That part of the tithes, declared law XI, belonging to the church building and maintenance fund, was to be delivered to the majordomo of each church, who was to expend it in consultation with the prelate and chapter. But no archbishop or bishop was to intervene in the actual collection or disbursement of it. Another law of this title (No. XVI) provided for the rebuilding or repair of the churches by the archbishop or bishop. Law XVII provided that sums proceeding from grants made from vacancies or from the royal ninths of the tithes should be spent, with the intervention of the prelate, on things pertaining to divine worship and in the manner most necessary for the churches. None of this money was to be released by the royal officials except with the knowledge of the viceroy or president of the audiencia. Law I of book I, title IV, provided for the founding of hospitals in each

town of Spaniards or Indians. Law I of title VI declared that the patronage of the church resided in the king; law II, that no church could be erected without his permission; law III, that any archbishop, bishop, or abbot, was to be nominated by him before appointment by the pope; law IV, that the prelate himself was to appoint the members of the chapter; law XX, that no parish priest might occupy two dignities or benefices at the same time, and law XXI, that the sacristan should be provided by the patron.

Law XLII of title VII of book I provided that the bishops were to appoint seculars and not regulars as confessors of nuns. Law III of title VIII provided that synodal councils should be held annually in the archdioceses and dioceses, and that viceroys, presidents of audiencias, and governors were to see that this was done, and law V decreed that the prelates were to permit both seculars and regulars to vote freely at such council meetings. No secular priest, declared law I of title XI, could be an alcalde, a lawyer, or a notary; neither (law II) could he be a factor, or trade and traffic, even (law V) through agents, nor possess pearling boats (law III), or work mines (law IV). Both seculars and regulars, however, could dispose of property by will (law XI). Law I of title XIII provided that regulars shall not be permitted where seculars are already established, nor shall convents be founded there; law V, that parish priests should teach the Spanish language to the Indians and instruct them in the Christian doctrine in that language.

One can easily see contradictions between the laws and actual practice, but one can not afford to disregard the *Recopilación*; for, unless a decree specifically stated that a previous decree not in harmony with it, was overridden, good ground was given for not obeying that special decree or for delaying its observance. Again, conditions in the various parts of the Indies differed so widely at times that the same law could not equitably be universally obeyed.

Reverting to the support of the secular priests and the maintenance of the churches in Florida, the chaplain of the fort, Ricardo Artur, and twenty-four soldiers petitioned for their pay on August 27, 1597.[20] Artur, who was acting parish priest of St. Augustine, was to receive the magnificent sum of six ducats per month. It is gratifying to know that payment was ordered. On his arrival at St. Augustine, he had found Fray Francisco Marron, Guardian of

[20] 54-5-16, No. 81.

the Franciscan convent, performing the duties of parish priest in the absence of the regularly appointed incumbent of that position, Diego de Escobar Zambrano. The friar resigned immediately when Artur asserted that a friar could not serve as parish priest. The Bishop of Santiago de Cuba soon recognized Artur as vicar and parish priest and visitor of Florida, assigning him the more equitable salary of two hundred ducats annually.

On September 7, 1636, the Bishop of Cuba, asserting his right to certain tithes, in view of the fact that St. Augustine had a beneficed parish priest and a chaplain of the fort, petitioned that the tithes due him be paid.[21] It should be noted that the tithes of the province for many years averaged only about four hundred *pesos*. For the whole Diocese of Cuba, as is learned from a letter of the bishop, dated June 20, 1666, all the tithes for the year 1653-1662 averaged 3,456 *pesos* annually.[22] The salaries of the parish priest and of the chaplain had been paid from the tithes and certain necessities provided. As to the salary of the sacristan whom the bishop was asked to provide for St. Augustine, the latter was uncertain; it might be paid in money or in kind, and it was highly doubtful whether he would be paid at all. The soldiers of the garrison always consume all the edible products of the province; while in collecting the subvention from Mexico there is always a loss of one-third or even one-half, and should the vessel carrying it be wrecked or captured by pirates, the loss is complete. The bishop says quite truly: "Great are the troubles, Sire, which are endured and suffered here."

In answer to a royal order, the royal officers made a long report on conditions in Florida on December 29, 1693.[23] At that time, the combined salaries of the three secular priests in St. Augustine totaled 909 *pesos*, four *reals*. Of this amount the parish priest received 283 ducats, the chaplain 233 ducats, and the sacristan, 200 *pesos*. In addition, each was given a ration. These expenses were then being met from the half and two-ninths of the revenues belonging to the king from the Church tithes collected in Cuba. A soldier, who acted as assistant to the sacristan received

[21] 54-5-20, No. 33. [22] 54-3-1. [23] 58-1-34, No. A-2.

one hundred and twenty-five ducats annually, paid in accordance with royal order from the subvention. The boy who locked the church and rang the bells, received a daily ration of two loaves of bread, which totaled fifty *pesos* for the year. The remuneration of the parish priest had been stationary for over a century, although the duties of the office had materially increased. He thought he ought to have more, for he had nothing to give to his assistants. On February 10, 1696, a royal order reveals that Alonso de Leturiondo, the parish priest, had petitioned for an increase in the remuneration of himself and his two companions since the cost of living had risen and they could not maintain themselves on their present salaries.[24]

About 1700, the same parish priest calls attention to serious irregularities in the collection of the tithes.[25] To remedy this, he suggested that the tithes he paid to the king himself, and that the latter should pay the salaries and upkeep of the parish priest and other seculars, as well as the expenses of the soldiers' hospital, and any improvements that might be made. From this document we learn also that each soldier paid twelve *reals* annually for the hospital.

It was not uncommon for the church to suffer from a lack of things essential to its proper service. In 1673, for instance, the sacristan complained that Mass could not be celebrated properly because of the lack of hosts and wine.[26] This was apparently an old complaint, but it had not been remedied. It was requested that flour and wine be furnished to the church as was done in other parts of the Indies. In 1670, the royal officials of Florida had decreed, incumbent on the king's consent, to give the priests eight pounds of flour monthly for hosts and to continue an old grant of four pints of wine.[27] On the advice of the Council of the Indies, the king concurred in this and ordered that these quantities be granted.

[24] 58-1-22, No. 339.

[25] 58-2-3, No. 14.

[26] In a consultation of the Camara de Indias of July 10, 1673 (58-1-20, No. 9).

[27] *Ibid.* Resolution by the royal officials of Florida of May 9.

On November 22, 1690, the king ordered the royal officials to make an extended report on the needs of the parish church, which he had heard had no fixed income and no maintenance fund.[28] It was in answer to this order that the royal officials wrote their long report of 1693.[29] In this, they cited a royal decree of 1604, which granted six arrobas of olive oil for the lamp before the Holy Sacrament of the parish church, and explained that this was supplied when any was on hand, but when oil was lacking, lard or bear's grease was substituted. Each secular priest also was given forty-eight pints of wine annually for the Mass. Six pounds of flour were also given for the host, and small sums to pay for the palms on Palm Sunday, and other church necessities. All these articles were turned over to the sacristan. Decrees covering all of these could not be found, but it had always been done. Many decrees do show, however, that the king had granted many alms and tithes for repairs and maintenance.

By a decree of 1688, it appears that the king paid for the special services on the first and last day of the Octaves of Corpus Christi, Ascension Day, St. Augustine's Day and St. Mark's Day; and on those days all the wax needed for the altars and for processions was donated by him. But after 1688, as no other decree was found that covered this matter, the governor discontinued it until the king might again decide on it.

In answer to the report of the royal officials of 1693, the king ordered the Viceroy of Mexico to see that no lard or other animal substance should be used in the lamp of the Sacrament, but only olive oil or wax which were to be supplied from the subvention. The viceroy, therefore, sent twenty-four arrobas of oil for the parish church and the Franciscan convent.

In the above mentioned report of the royal officials, complaint was made of the excessive fees charged by the parish priest. This complaint was enforced by a letter from the governor, on August 26, 1697, who said further, that the priest refused to abide by the schedule of tariffs made by the synod of Cuba.[30] In answer

[28] 58-1-22, No. 151. [29] See *ante*, note 23. [30] 58-1-34, No. A-5.

to the first complaint, the king in a decree of February 10, 1696, ordered the secular priests to observe carefully the schedule that had been ordered and not to deviate from it in any point.[31] It appears from a royal decree of August 1, 1702, that the fees had been materially increased after 1682.[32] In considering the matter, the Council of the Indies was of the opinion that while the schedule might have been proper when it was made, the cost of living had risen so high and conditions had become so bad, that it was now probably too high. The land was poor and its population consisted almost entirely of soldiers whose pay was very small. Since 1697, some of them had not been able to pay the fees; and because of the poverty no feasts had been celebrated in the church for some time. It must be confessed that to our twentieth-century eyes the schedule does not appear excessive, but it probably was too much for the time. It was quite naturally reduced. At the same time, no one could complain that the salaries of the priests was excessive. They shared in the poverty of the times.

Twice during the period covered by this paper, Florida was visited by the bishop in person, once in 1606, by Bishop Juan de las Cabezas Altamirano; and again in 1674, by Bishop Gabriel Vara Díaz Calderón.[33] Both visits were well conducted. On June 24, 1606, Cabezas Altamirano made a report of his visit.[34] Among other things he requested that the tithes be so distributed that there might be something for the upkeep of the church and hospital, and of the priests. The Franciscans had petitioned him, asking that the posts of parish priest and chaplain of the fort be assigned to their Order on the ground that such assignments were a generally recognized custom; but he refused, remarking that one single religious had given him enough trouble; and he went on to complain that the Franciscans imagined that the Pope had invested them with the missions and provinces of Florida with

[31] 58-1-22, No. 339.

[32] 58-1-23, No. 171.

[33] See accounts of these visits in Shea, *ut supra*, 159-161, 168-171. They are also treated in several of the manuscripts. Cf. O'Daniel, "The Right Rev. Juan de las Cabezas de Altamirano", *Cath. Hist. Review*, January, 1917, where a reprint of the Visitation Report will be found in Spanish and English.

[34] 54-3-1.

regard both to spiritual and temporal matters, that they were the real governors, and that no one could interfere in their jurisdiction. He asked that they be regulated by a royal decree. By causing the public punishment of a cacique, they had really and unwittingly accomplished the death of some of their own brethren because of revolts among the Indians. However, the bishop confessed that they worked hard, though some of their members were too young. Men of mature minds were required for this business of converting the Indians. With him to Florida he had taken two secular priests: one to fill the post of parish priest in place of Ricardo Artur who had died, and the other to teach the numerous children of the Spaniards and to help the parish priest. His visit had a good effect and stiffened up the whole ecclesiastical structure. That he should criticize the religious is not strange, for there was almost always a certain amount of feeling in the Indies between the seculars and the regulars.

The second episcopal visit is described at some length by Shea, and I shall take no time here with it, except to say that the bishop spent eight months at it and visited all parts of the country, and distributed some thousands of *pesos* in alms among the poor and needy. He, too, had his troubles among the regulars of the missions; but his visit was beneficial to the province at large.

More than one decree had been issued requiring the bishops to visit Florida; but it was not an excursion to be taken lightly, for in the dangerous crossing over to Florida there was the added danger from pirates who would probably have been quite delighted to capture so important a personage as the Bishop of Cuba. Many complaints came from Florida itself at the seeming indifference of the bishop to the spiritual welfare of his flock in the peninsula. This is voiced in a memorial of about 1646, which was enclosed in a letter from the Governor of Florida.[35] In this memorial is broached the idea of the need of a prelate for Florida so that they should not have to depend on one so far away. Once before, namely, on May 31, 1629,[36] the Council of the Indies had considered the question of making the province of Florida into a

[35] 54-5-20, No. 44.

[36] Cited in the memorial.

diocese, arguing that since the first episcopal visit forty years before, scarcely any of the people had been confirmed. If the diocese were endowed with tithes, it could be maintained properly and would bear rich fruit.

A memorable visit was made in 1687 by Juan Ferro Machado, an appointee of the bishop who could not make the visit himself.[37] This energetic man was a priest not yet thirty years old, but a better man could scarcely have been found in Cuba. His visit proved a great success and was of lasting benefit. He, too, had differences with the Franciscans, who naturally objected to being inspected by a secular priest. Among other reports he sent a long confidential one on the Franciscans. One of the complaints against the regulars, as appears from a despatch of the king of July 23, 1688,[38] was that they had not yet worked out a single native language in which all the Indians might be taught as had been done in Peru. Such a complaint could only arise from ignorance of conditions in Florida, which were not at all comparable to those in Peru. Apparently, no effort was made to push this question to extremes. For it must be said that one is continually surprised at the rare good sense that is often displayed in the resolutions adopted by the king in consultation with his council; or at the freedom given to all parties to express their opinion, and leaving the final settlement of a knotty question to Old Father Time. This is especially noticeable in the reply to a complaint of the governor against the parish priest. The former was angered because the priest had begun Mass upon an important occasion before he could get to the church, as he had suffered a sudden attack of illness; while at other times, the priest often kept him waiting an hour past the usual time. He demanded redress and got it. The king requested the priest to have Mass from nine to ten instead of from eight to nine; and I imagine all parties were quite happy.[39]

[37] See Shea, *ut supra*, 181-182.

[38] 58-1-22, No. 78.

[39] See the decree of January 20, 1696, to the Bishop of Cuba relative to this matter (58-1-22, No. 360). A dispute arose also over the ringing of bells at

The few visits above mentioned so lightly were of importance in another way. They prepared the ground for the erection of an auxiliary bishopric in Cuba, the incumbent of which was to reside in Florida. It was no little task to send a bishop from Havana to St. Augustine and it is no wonder that it was so seldom consummated. The efforts culminating in the erection of the auxiliary bishopric are told in great part in a resumé of certain documents which was made probably for the use of the Council of the Indies—though among the manuscripts of The Florida State Historical Society both the documents themselves and the resumé are found.

On August 11, 1691, the bishop wrote the king that he could not go to Florida and asked him to make it into a diocese.[40] However, little attention seems to have been given this request, for on December 30, 1695,[41] the bishop was ordered to visit his diocese, including Florida, an order which had already been given on August 18, 1685.[42] He was ordered to go in person and to pay special attention to the abuses among the Indians. On October 12, 1701, the council was forced to face the matter of a change in the religious administration of Florida by erecting an auxiliary bishopric.[43] A telling point in the discussion was the fact that only two of the twenty-three bishops of Cuba since the foundation of St. Augustine had personally visited Florida. A new element in the discussion was injected by the Bishop of Cuba—the same who had sent Ferro Machado to Florida. He proposed that Florida be erected into an independent bishopric, thus completely severing its relation with Cuba. His own diocese in Cuba had grown so large that his duties had been multiplied many fold. Because of the distance of St. Augustine from Havana, the danger of navigation, and the danger from pirates and enemies, it was almost impossible to terminate an ecclesiastical suit. Considerable time was lost also before the royal decrees could reach Flor-

night (see, *e. g.*, among several documents a decree sent to the parish priest, December 10, 1693, 58-1-22, No. 291).

[40] 58-2-15, No. 11. See also, *ibid.*, No. 15.

[41] 58-1-22, No. 342. [42] Cited in the order of 1695. [43] 58-1-23, No. 120.

ida from Cuba. If this new erection be made, the bishop is willing to renounce all his tithes from Florida. He thinks 3,000 ducats will make a sufficient income for the new foundation. Of this sum, the tithes of Florida will yield 2,000 ducats (the bishop is unduly optimistic), and the other 1,000 ducats can be taken from the 1,500 ducats given to the governor to expend in sending caciques to take the oath of allegiance to the crown; or if not from that fund, from the sale of the bulls of the crusade. He makes it clear that he could contribute nothing to the income of an auxiliary bishop, for he has all he can do to care for the poor of Cuba.

This argument had no effect on the council, and it continued to plan for the erection of an auxiliary bishopric. Six secular priests were to be assigned him for his aid at 200 *pesos* each per annum, and he was personally to live in Florida. His income might be made up from the two-ninths of the tithes received by the king from Cuba, plus all the tithes of Florida (which the council, also unduly optimistic, thinks might reach as much as 1,000 *pesos*), plus another 1,000 which can probably be got from vacancies in the bishoprics of Cuba and all the Indies. The council, therefore, advised the king to take the proper measures to obtain the necessary bulls from the Pope.

Accordingly, on December 1, 1701, the king directed his ambassador in Rome to request the Pope for a bull erecting an auxiliary bishopric for Cuba; and at the same time he wrote in similar terms to the Pope himself.[44] In answer to this communication, the ambassador, on March 19, 1702, wrote that the consistory had learned that the Bishop of Cuba preferred to have an independent bishopric for Florida and refused to give his consent to the election of an auxiliary.[45] Before the wishes of the king could be met, the bishop, in accordance with the apostolic constitutions and the pontifical decrees, had to give his consent.

The council still adhered to its views, notwithstanding this reply, and a letter from the bishop on December 2, 1701, in which the latter asked that his provisor, Andrés de Olmos, be made his coadjutor, since he was ill, apparently had no effect.[46] The ambas-

[44] *Ibid.*, No. 125. [45] 58-2-15, No. 20. [46] 58-2-15, No. 16.

sador was again informed that an independent bishopric could not be erected, but the ambassador replied that matters still stood as before and it would be better to suspend the petition.

The council persisted in its attempt and another letter to the bishop asking him to name an auxiliary brought his nomination of Dionisio Resiño. On September 18, 1704,[47] the king approved the nomination. Already on December 10, 1703,[48] the ambassador at Rome had been directed to renew his petition for the bulls of erection of an auxiliary bishopric and the order was repeated on October 30, 1704.[49] The ambassador, replying to the last order on January 10, 1705,[50] stated that the matter would have to be discussed in the consistorial congregation which had little business to transact and assembled but seldom during the year. He noted that the 1,000 *pesos* to come from Cuba to which the despatch referred as part of the income of the erection requested did not have the express sanction of the bishop. Besides he has no five hundred *escudos* to pay for the bulls and does not know where to get them. The bishop's consent to the item of the 1,000 *pesos* and the money to pay for the bulls are necessary before anything can be done.

The death of the old Bishop of Cuba saved the day, as appears from the reply to the ambassador's letter on February 4, 1705,[51] for the new bishop, Fray Gerónimo de Valdés, had consented to the erection of an auxiliary bishopric and to the assignment for its support. The payment for the bulls was also authorized. There was still further delay, for the ambassador wrote on March 7 that he would have to have a report on Resiño, with special reference to his availability and other matters before his appointment could go through. The new bishop must also give his special consent to the creation of the See.

Finally, the matter was settled to the satisfaction of the crown by the issuance of the bulls on December 14, 1705.[52] On October 29, 1706, royal despatches to the Bishop of Cuba and the Viceroy

[47] 58-1-23, No. 314.
[48] *Ibid.*, No. 329.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] 58-2-15, No. 24.
[51] *Ibid.*, No. 25.
[52] Cited in the document noted in Note 53.

of New Spain, gave information of the event.[53] Another despatch of even date was sent to the Governor and royal officials of Florida.

The new auxiliary was consecrated in Mérida, Yucatan, and reached his new post soon afterwards, as we learn from a report of July 10, 1709.[54] He entered upon his duties immediately and had already distributed over 3,000 *pesos* to the poor and needy. But Florida, says the report, was in the throes of much suffering at that time. It had not recovered since Moore's disastrous visit in 1702, and was uninhabitable. Writing on July 30, the governor had also noted the arrival of the auxiliary bishop. The latter had made the first confirmations in thirty-five years, and had made a careful inspection of everything.[55] But because of the conditions prevailing in Florida, he found it impossible to live there and had returned to Cuba in the same ship that had brought him. Thus was the very purpose of the appointment annulled. Resiño, Shea tells us, died in Havana, September 12, 1711, evidently without visiting Florida again.[56]

As one reviews this period, one is struck by the mediocrity of all things. Everything was on a small scale because the importance of Florida economically was small. Yet the province exhibits everything that is seen in more prosperous regions with regard both to civil and ecclesiastical matters. The same phenomena are present. There is no evidence that ecclesiastical affairs were neglected any more than were civil affairs. Spain probably did its best in this poor colony. Today it is easy enough to generalize and suggest that if Spain had sent a few hundreds of religious into the wilderness back of Florida and Georgia and had supported them adequately with an armed force and with several other settlements, which would have rendered necessary the early erection of an independent bishopric in Florida, there would be a more virile tale to tell of the province. But, where would the religious have come from; and from where the soldiers and the seculars? I will indulge in no futile "ifs."

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

[53] 58-1-23, Nos. 385, 386.
[54] 58-1-28, No. 60.
[55] 58-1-28, No. 60.
[56] *Ut supra*, 464, note 1.

IRELAND'S RECORD OF CIVILIZATION

For three centuries European archives and libraries have been giving up an ever-increasing volume of early Irish medieval "sources". Around this core of ancient *Celtica* modern curiosity has let loose a tide of works, essays, studies, researches, an endless current of *Beitraege* in several languages. Special periodicals, Celtic in content and interest, and conducted by philologians and historians of excellent repute, count already many stately volumes. Within a century the relics of Old Irish architecture and art; the fragments of the ancient speech and the pre-Christian myths and legends; early Christian writings and the travels and works of Irish missionaries: all the peculiar antiquities of Ireland, have aroused at home and abroad an interest that grows ever more scientific and more intense.

It is possible that no historical subject of the last three centuries has created a larger bibliography. Immense at once and widely dispersed, the output of this literary activity has long since become the despair of the average student of *Celtica* in its numerous branches. To date no one has dominated this great thicket of historical materials, strictly Irish in content and origin. Cordial recognition, of course, is due to Professor Best's *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature,* to Douglas Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland,* and to the valuable labors of other meritorious pioneers. It is, however, in the recent work of Dr. James Kenney of the Public Archives of Canada, that original materials and modern interpretative scholarship are for the first time reflected on the largest scale, as in an accurate mirror, and in perfectly scientific form.[1]

One rises from the perusal of this bulky volume with a profound respect for the monumental industry and patience of the scholar

[1] ***The Sources for the Early History of Ireland, an Introduction and Guide,*** by James F. Kenney, Ph. D., Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, in two volumes. Vol. I: *Ecclesiastical* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. xvi, 807).

to whom all future historians of the religious and ecclesiastical life of early medieval Ireland must pay reverence. In these pages Dr. Kenney has done for the early Christian life and thought of his native land what Wattenbach long since did for medieval Germany and Molinier for medieval France. He seems, indeed, to have surpassed in several respects these masters of medieval "heuristic".

A preliminary chapter exhibits the vicissitudes of "history" in Ireland from the remotest time, the character of its records and the *fata* of their transmission to date, closing with an account of the chief extant collections of Irish manuscripts. An appendix to this chapter provides some twenty pages of a general bibliography. Within its scope fall the best general works on European history as far they consider Ireland, also bibliographical accounts of Latin and Irish "sources" and all printed catalogues of manuscripts. It lists also the chief periodicals and publications of learned societies, including the historical and philological sections of the *Sitzungsberichte* of Berlin, Munich and Vienna, likewise philological depositories, Irish, English and continental. A section is devoted to the auxiliary sciences of history, chronology, ecclesiastical geography, topography, archaeology and anthropology (insular and continental). The latest scientific studies on Irish palaeography and manuscript illumination are included, also the principal collections of printed sources for the early medieval Irish period. There follows a selection of "works for historical reference" — encyclopedias, general and ecclesiastical history, and outstanding modern works on the *Celtica* of this period, mostly English, German and French. One eminent specialist declares that within his own range this enormous dragnet has missed nothing of value.[2]

The work proper falls into seven chapters: The Irish Church in the "Celtic Period"; The Monastic Churches (two chapters);

[2] I did not notice anywhere the very old Bobbio *Liber Diurnus*, of the Ambrosiana Library, published in 1921, by Gramatica and Galbiati in the seventh volume of the *Analecta Ambrosiana*, and whose critical "apparatus", these editors say, is substantially the work of the learned Cardinal Achille Ratti, then Archbishop of Milan, now Pius the Eleventh.

The Expansion of Irish Christianity; Religious Literature and Ecclesiastical Culture (biblical, intellectual, liturgical, devotional); The Reform Movement of the Twelfth Century. There is an indispensable list of over one hundred *siglae* or abbreviations for the often lengthy titles of reviews and collections of manuscripts and printed works, publications of learned societies, etc. An *Addenda* of fifteen pages incorporates all pertinent literature, English, Irish, French, German and Italian, published since 1926, when the work of Dr. Kenney went to press. Two maps of Ecclesiastical Ireland in the Middle Ages and the External Relations of the Irish Church in the Early Middle Ages leave no *desiderata* for the convenient use of the work. It closes with one of the best indexes the writer has seen. Under "Manuscripts", for instance, are listed, neatly and succinctly, the titles of all the numerous and curious Irish "Books" described or referred to in this marvelous work.

Dr. Kenney deals with some seven hundred "sources" or original and independent items of information about Irish ecclesiastical life, letters and institutions during eight centuries of history, insular and continental. For each such "source" or item of information, e. g. (p. 559) the *Codex Bernensis*, he gives a brief but sufficient account or conspectus of all known manuscripts of it, their present location, age (certain or approximate), condition (fragmentary or whole), actual ownership, and interesting *curiosa* about them. He adds the printed editions (older and recent), and any serviceable academic treatment they have met with to date,—books, articles, controversies, discussions, etc. Translations and helpful commentaries are not omitted, nor in general any printed matter that could light up the abundant obscurities of these venerable materials. Incidentally, it may be said, that apart from the Dublin repositories and those of the British Museum, Oxford and Cambridge, the Old Irish manuscripts for this period are found in the Vatican, the Ambrosiana at Milan, and the Biblioteca Nazionale at Turin.[1] Some are also

[1] The 71 manuscripts of this collection were seriously damaged and some destroyed in the fire that occurred on January 26, 1904. Photostatic copies of some of the documents had previously been made.

found at Brussels, Munich, Vienna, Berlin, at Zurich, Saint Gall, Basle, and Cologne, Berne, Paris and Naples. A Leipzig review, published some forty years ago, listed nearly three hundred.

There follows an illuminating comment on each "source". It is in these short but meaty paragraphs that lie for the reader and student the utility and charm of the work. Every line, almost every word, does yeoman's duty. Historical condensation cannot easily go farther, and remain intelligible. The broadly illuminative information packed in these succinct paragraphs is the most recent attainable, and is sufficient for all practical purposes of study and research, given the "heuristic" or pathfinder character of the work.

When several "sources" of similar interest or correlated content are listed, a few pages of comprehensive comment, descriptive, critical or discussional, are given, yet so as to avoid repetition of matter which has elsewhere its own place and space. Model specimens of this treatment are the pages on Saint Patrick (319-329), the Book of Armagh (337-339), Saint Brigit (356-364), Clonmacnois (376-383), Saint Brendan (406-420), Saint Columbanus (186-205), Bobbio (515-516), the Irish Penitentials (235-250), Saint Fridolin (497-498), and Saint Pirminius (518-519). Dr. Kenney is not inclined to admit the mildly controverted but quite possible Irish origin of the latter two saints, nor does he lean overmuch to the *textus receptus* of early Irish hagiological tradition, even when supported by good native scholarship. As between Whitley Stokes and Professor Bury he seems to adhere to the latter's rather severe and narrow conclusions, especially as to the oldest written materials for the conversion of Ireland. Writing in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April (1930), Professor Macalister, Ireland's foremost archaeologist, comments as follows on these views of Dr. Kenney:

> In some matters, for example in the relation between the different lives of Saint Patrick, upon which important researches are at present being carried out—new knowledge will inevitably put some of the conclusions apparently attained out of date. . . . If the second volume maintains the standard of the first part, the study of Irish history will fall into two eras—"Before Kenney" and "After Kenney". The first volume alone

is a gift to scholarship for which no thanks could be adequate, no eulogy could be too high.

The average, even highly-cultured, reader of this massive volume may not easily grasp its significance to the professional worker in the province of ancient Irish Christian history, so crowded with problems at once difficult and delicate. He ought, however, to have some idea of the herculean labors and the varied equipment that such a work presupposes. Behind these scholarly pages, on which modern historical criticism mirrors both its logic and its form, are the many enormous folios of Bollandist and Benedictine research and scholarship; the numerous volumes of the Latin Migne; the great tomes of conciliar records, insular and continental; the ecclesiastical legislation of many centuries; the voluminous national collections of England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and the Northern Kingdoms; the extensive collections of the private scholarship of Europe in the last hundred years (philological, historical, archaeological)—in a word, the entire output of modern scientific scholarship in this province and for the period in question. Through these innumerable records, so often shattered, dispersed and confused, run many highly colored threads of early medieval Irish interest. With all this the author of a pathfinder must be intimately familiar. It must be noted that for this almost passionately interesting borderland of Irish action and feeling he has no Gregory of Tours, no Venerable Bede, to block out roughly the general conditions of life and thought in a small and remote un-Romanized island, suddenly called on to make a volte-face in its immemorial relations to its own people and the nearby continent; above all, to its ancestral religion and the peculiar outlook on the world and life that the peculiar Celtic pagan faith had begotten through a long and nebulous past. With the location and content of this widely dispersed material, a veritable flotsam and jetsam of Celtic experience, Dr. Kenney is well acquainted. He is the first thoroughly scientific apostle of its "heuristic", at least on so comprehensive a scale, and with due recognition of fine labors in more restricted fields. As one wanders through this vast literary conspectus that

lights up all men and things within its Irish horizon only the words of Keats "On first looking into Chapman's Homer" seem worthy of the vision:

> Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
> When a new planet swims into his ken;
> Or like stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes
> He stared at the Pacific—and all his men
> Looked at each other with a wild surmise
> Alone upon a peak in Darien.

This work of Dr. Kenney offers the first comprehensive scientific survey of modern research and investigation in the entire domain of early Irish Christian history. For more than a hundred years this chapter of the ecclesiastical and religious life of Europe has fascinated a multitude of scholars, many of them foremost representatives of erudition and criticism. England offers Canon Plummer, Bury, Souter, Warren, and Strachan; France is proud of d'Arbois de Jubainville, Lot, Dottin, Gougaud, Grosjean, Roger, Fournier and Goblet; Germany stands in the front rank with Zeuss, Diefenbach, Windisch, Zimmer, Kuno Meyer, Krusch, Seebass, Gundlach, Thurneysen and Traube; Denmark offers Pedersen. Ireland herself offers a long list of scholars to whom their labors brought very little if any material reward—John O'Donovan, Edmund O'Curry, leaders of a distinguished procession of outstanding writers like Whitley Stokes, Standish O'Grady, Todd, Reeves, Robert Flower, Father Edmund Hogan, Father Patrick O'Leary, Father Lambert McKenna, Gwynn, Best, McCarthy, Graves, Atkinson, Lawlor, Macalister, O'Rahilly, MacErlean, Douglas Hyde, John MacNeill, Mario Esposito and Oscar Bergin. Our own country offers Professors Joseph Dunn, Frederick Robinson and John Gerig. It is the flower of their researches that Dr. Kenney has gathered, so to speak, within the pages of this work. With peculiar skill, moreover, he has extracted from these countless studies whatever has been accepted as permanent by the best scholars of that intellectual *Celtica* so widely disseminated throughout Europe. Finally Dr. Kenney has bestowed the palm of literary immortality on the collective

Celtic scholarship of Europe, by enshrining in pages that will always be much consulted the best content of the *Revue Celtique*, the *Zeitschrift fuer celtische Philologie*, the *Analecta Bollandiana*, the *Archiv fuer celtische Lexicographie*, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, *the Gaelic Journal*, *Eriu*, *the Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, the *English Historical Review*, the *Neues Archiv*, the publications of the *Royal Irish Academy*, the *Royal Irish Antiquaries*, and similar periodicals. Similarly he has transferred to his pages much of the valuable information of early Irish Christian interest that lies imbedded in the great modern histories of Latin literature, classic and medieval—Ebert, Teuffel-Schwab, Manitius, Schanz, Nettleship, Roger, and others, to which may be added the voluminous liturgical and archaeological *Dictionnaire* of Cabrol and Leclercq, that abounds in early Irish historical and literary matter.

Begun in 1907 at the University of Wisconsin, this study of the historical records of Ireland has been carried on by Dr. Kenney for twenty years, more or less, at Columbia University, to whose sympathy, guidance and support the author pays a well-merited tribute, particularly to the information and advice that he received without stint from Dr. John L. Gerig, his professor of Old and Middle Irish, and to Dr. James L. Shotwell, "whose counsel and assistance, patience and enthusiasm, kept him keyed to the task through long and difficult years." To him and his successors in the editor's chair of *Records of Civilization* it is due that the volume has reached the stage where publication was possible, just as the expensive publication itself is due to the generosity of the Columbia University Press. He adds that the late Kuno Meyer read a large part of the manuscript while it was still in relatively crude form and says that his suggestions and emendations contributed materially to the making of the book. Of Father Paul Grosjean, S. J., the learned Bollandist specialist in all *Celtica*, Dr. Kenney says that "to his keen observation, critical acumen, and broad scholarship every reader of the work is indebted, and the debt would have been greater had not the text been already in proof when it first came to his attention."

A word as to the mechanical and technical execution of the

book. It is beyond praise, and marks the farthest advance of American publications in this department of science. If that great historical magister, the late William Wattenbach of Berlin, could look upon it he would admit that, in one province at least, the sceptre of medieval "heuristic" had passed overseas, perhaps forever.

There remains only to congratulate cordially the author on the happy completion of a work in which length, labor, and delicacy of construction and execution combine as in few tasks of the kind, but are rewarded by the certainty of a perennial use, private and collective, as long as there is interest in the history of the Irish Church and State. It is fair also to rejoice with him that it was reserved to a native of Ireland to raise the great searchlight that now ferrets out every tiniest cove in the "seven seas" of early Irish ecclesiastical history, and reveals on every white strand the *disjecta membra* of a life ecclesiastical and secular, literary and artistic, social and economic, that was rich and humane while Continental Europe lingered yet in the shadows of barbarism.

✠ THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

MISCELLANY

THE CHURCH AND CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Of the monumental works of German Catholic scholarship, few equal Dr. Schnürer's in scope.[1] The writings of Janssen and Pastor are in comparison with his *opus* studies in limited fields and periods. Dr. Schnürer's sweep is from the last age of the Roman Empire into the Renaissance.

After defining his terms—culture, civilization—and examining the status of the Church in the Roman Empire of Constantine and his immediate successors, Dr. Schnürer proceeds in detail to consider the Roman and Christian elements, the *Grundpfeiler*, the piers on which rests the medieval culture of the western world. Four great personalities stand out in these chapters: Ambrose, Augustine of Hippo, Leo I, and Benedict. The two former prepared the Roman element for its new mission, but their preparation might have been in vain if in the critical fifth century Leo I had not more adequately organized Christendom through the papacy, thus providing an efficient agency for the transmitting of the antique Christian culture to the German peoples. This transmission was actually accomplished by Benedict and his brethren. They preserved the heritage of the antique civilization, and at the bidding of the popes brought to the Germans Christian teaching as the foundation of the new civilization.

The upbuilding of this new civilization was not easily accomplished, and the fact that it was brought about must be credited to the Church. Theodoric the Ostrogoth bravely attempted the task—perhaps its setting was of the mind of Cassiodorus and Boethius rather than that of the king. He failed, fundamentally, because of his Arianism. But for the English Benedictines, the Franks also might have failed; for the Merovingians little appreciated how necessary for their enduring power was a firm cultural foundation in Catholicism. Great personalities again are brought to the fore—Gregory I, Boniface, the Carolingian mayors and kings ending with Charlemagne. With Gregory the papacy turned from the Byzantine east to the Germanic west. Boniface confirmed the Benedictine mission as well as helped to

[1] *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter.* Von Gustav Schnürer. Three volumes. (Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag. Paderborn. 1927-1929. Pp., xvi, 426; x, 563; xii, 463. R. M. 34.)

reform the Frankish Church. Charlemagne's years were the first blossoming of the western culture; but, again, this blossoming derived the vitality necessary for it to survive subsequent storms from the intimate connection between the great emperor's government and the See of Peter. Not merely incidental are the chapters on the Irish missionaries, the Eastern Schism and Islam, and the rise of the Carolingian monarchy. Although the Irish influence was not of great lasting importance, it quickened the Frankish Church into realizing its mission. Neither Byzantium nor Islam could lead as did the Carolingian Franks in the building of the great western civilization. In the Greek East the antique tradition was never seriously shocked by the Germanic intrusions as it was in the Roman West; and the imperial power preserved itself notwithstanding innumerable revolutions. There were not fresh minds and hearts for the Church freely to teach and mould. Islam's basic defect was spirituality, the saving grace of the Frankish Church corrupt as it became, and Dr. Schnürer does not hesitate to lay bare its corruption.

The period between the death of Charlemagne and the Crusades Dr. Schnürer regards as transitional. Carolingian unity had been destroyed and papal leadership was not yet established. Nevertheless the order of Charlemagne maintained its influence amid the confusion attending the Northman and Hungarian invasions. Whether in western Christendom there should be one state or several was not determined, but when the Saxon kings of Germany did achieve the first unity it suggested the imperial idea of Charlemagne. As in the Carolingian age, the Church depended for defense, even for the furtherance of its missions, upon the State, a relationship that was to yield bitter fruit. Although no one denied the moral leadership of the Church in theory, Nicholas I was the only Pope that even for a brief period could make practice slightly suggestive of this leadership. The Bonifacian and Carolingian reforms had been forgotten again and the state of Catholic ecclesiasticism seemed more impossible of reclamation than it had been in the Merovingian era. Cluny, however, did begin reform and Hildebrand is generally credited with having given the movement Church-wide scope; ultimately also he prepared for the exaltation of the Church as the leader of western civilization.

In the age of the Crusades the Church appeared as the directress of western society. A pope had set the Crusades in motion and popes labored in order that interest in the enterprise might not abate. The

papal leadership of a pan-European project necessarily implied papal command of the princes who did the fighting, the financing of the expeditions, the preserving of peace at home; in fine, the co-ordinating of all Christian activities to the end that the Cross might prevail over the Crescent in the East and over the idols of pagan folk wherever they might be in Europe. Now and then papal leadership was questioned, but not effectively. Hildebrand's dreams were realized in the pontificate of Innocent III: the Lateran Council of 1215 may be regarded as a parliament of Christian Europe. Even more complete was the papal hegemony after Innocent's death. Then the Hohenstaufen Empire collapsed, and for over half a century the West held sway over Byzantium. Only the Palestinian situation darkened the picture. Not, however, until the thirteenth century had ended, did papal leadership meet with rebuff. Inwardly this period was as splendid as it was outwardly. If heresy raised its head in many places, there were the friars to combat it; to work besides to meet the needs of a society rapidly passing out of the natural economy of the feudal age. Charity and learning, literature and art attained rare heights of achievement and perfection.

Out of all this glory came disaster. The papal hegemony was of feudalism, and the Crusades undermined feudalism. The *potestas directa* of the popes had often been challenged by academicians and pamphleteers, but now challenges came from quarters possessing the will and power to give effect to their *dicta*. The layman's day had dawned. The burghers compelled their bishops to yield them management of their city affairs. Nobles seized the income of the crusading taxes—were not the Crusades over? Laymen entered law and medicine, disputed philosophical questions, wrote, and wrought in art. Not a field of human activity seemed to escape this lay penetration. How should the Church regard the situation? She had since the collapse of the Roman Empire directed the course of cultural development. Learning and art, even agriculture and industry, had been given their start through her and had been developed by her. Literature, always in clerical keeping, assumed a lay, even anti-clerical, tone. Were the Church and culture now to be divorced? Bad as the situation was for ecclesiastical leadership without, the worldliness of churchmen within rendered it far worse. Wycliffe and Huss openly dared to cry out against the hierarchial organization because its corruption was too obvious to palliate, too deep-seated to excuse. Matters became worse in the period of the Great Schism and Conciliar strife. Then

the new force of nationalism which had humiliated Boniface VIII at Anagni could blight by its lay modernistic hands the fair flower of a great unified Christian civilization.

Dr. Schnürer extends his theme into the age of the Renaissance, even looks beyond into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for confirmations of his thesis. A magnificent sweep, indeed, although one comes, in spite of well-founded and thorough-going convictions about the place of the Church in the making of civilization, to feel that too much is claimed. Factors important in the forming of medieval civilization are not stressed as they should be. Boethius is not given the prominence he seems to deserve. One must infer his importance by piecing together statements here and there. Little notice is taken of the fact that the Franks succeeded where other German tribes failed, because they did not lose touch with the German *Kernland*. One may doubt whether the crusading zeal of the French was very much due to the Celtic element in their make-up. The implications of a land economy for episcopal church organization seem not to have been fully recognized. Many other questions of this nature might be raised.

The work, however, corrects many erroneous conceptions. The relations between St. Ambrose and the Emperor Theodosius after the massacre of Thessalonica are given as they *were*; Boniface is presented as a skilful politician bringing about the displacement of the Merovingians in favor of the Carolingians. Churchmen are freely condemned for forgetting their divine calling. There are admirable accounts of matters not often discussed in general works; for example, how church organization in Ireland was unlike that established elsewhere; the transfer of the city church organization to the country districts; the rôle of the Northmen in the Spanish wars on the Moors.

Innumerable and great are the outstanding merits of Dr. Schnürer's work—it should be translated, simplified, perhaps even abridged in places, but *translated,* made available in a reasonably-priced edition for Catholics who do not know the German tongue. Is there no one to undertake this highly useful task; no one to finance its production?

F. J. Tschan.

THE TUDOR QUEENS: A COMPARISON

The comparison between the two Tudor queens of England is a theme frequently discussed by both Catholic and non-Catholic authors, and one which almost obtrudes itself to anyone who gives some study to the two reigns. A point most strongly insisted upon is the number of executions which took place under them.

"Mary burnt 288 in five years; Elizabeth killed less than 200 in forty-five."

In these words the Rev. Peter Dunne, S.J., expresses the common charge, evidently not as his own final verdict, but as made by many non-Catholics.[1]

The conclusion is that Mary was cruel, while Elizabeth was humane. These numbers, however, can bear a closer investigation. Nor are they the only criterion on which the charge of cruelty must be based. We shall take up the question of the numbers first, and after that examine another viewpoint commonly neglected in the discussion.[2]

I.

The Number of Executions. Among the 288 victims who suffered under Mary the Catholic there were some sixty who had been found guilty of rebellion, chiefly in connection with the several attempts made to put Lady Jane Grey on the throne.[3] The remaining number

[1] "Understanding the Protestant Historical Attitude," *Ecclesiastical Review* LXXXII (March, 1930), 245.

[2] The positive information for our first part is chiefly gleaned from Rev. John Lingard's great work, *History of England*, which though written about a hundred years ago, "still stands firm and immovable" (Rev. E. Ryan in *Church Historians*, edited by P. Guilday, 286). For the second part we rely on Arnold Oskar Meyer's *England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth* (St. Louis, Mo., 1925). This work, written by a German Protestant, enjoys the reputation of thoroughness and fairness. (It is hardly possible to take exception to any of the facts adduced by this indefatigable and careful investigator. Views and verdicts may occasionally differ when it comes to the evaluation and interpretation of the facts; a circumstance which does not affect the passages to be utilized here.)

[3] I find it extremely difficult, at least with the sources of information at my disposal, to determine how many after all were executed as heretics. Lingard (Vol. V, pp. 485-6) states that after expunging "the names of all who were condemned as felons or traitors, or who died peaceably in their beds, or who

were punished for heresy according to old English laws. But if rebels are included among the victims in the case of Mary, the same must be done in the case of Elizabeth. Now the fact is that under Elizabeth none were formally executed for religion, all condemnations being pronounced on the charge of rebellion. To deny that Elizabeth was the "Supreme Head under God of the Anglican Church" was construed as high treason. It is evident that this was a religious cause, since all those who refused to save their lives by abjuring the primacy of the Pope really died for their religious conviction. The number of those formally sentenced to death upon this plea is commonly given at about 180. But outside of these 180 executions there were numerous others, carried out in consequence of the suppression of risings. After the revolt in the northern counties, known as the second Pilgrimage of Grace, "those among the insurgents who possessed lands or chattels were reserved for trial in the courts of law, that their forfeitures might furnish the queen with an indemnification for the expenses of the campaign. . . . But the meaner classes were abandoned to the execution of martial law." Before setting out upon his expedition of blood, the Earl of Sussex wrote to Cecil concerning the number of his intended victims:

> the number whereof is yet uncertain, for that I knowe not the number of the townes; but I gesse that it will not be under 6 or 7 hundred at the least that shal be exequuted of the comon sorte, besides the prisoners taken in the felde.

That the earl meant what he said is evident from the following words of Lingard:

> Sussex . . . whether it was through the natural severity of his disposition, or his anxiety to convince the queen of his loyalty which had been doubted rightly or wrongly, exercised his authority without mercy. In the county

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survived the publication of their martyrdom, or who would for their heterodoxy have been sent to the stake by the reformed prelates had these been in possession of the power . . . it will be found that, in the space of four years almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion." Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J., on the other hand asserts that within four years 277 persons were burned to death for heresy. (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, 767.) Other writers, such as Innes in his *History of England under the Tudors* and Gairdner in his several works do not give any total at all. (Both these non-Catholic historians speak with admirable fairness of the Catholic queen. It would probably be difficult to find a more just and truthful account of her personality and government than is that presented by Innes.)

of Durham alone more than three hundred individuals suffered death, nor was there between Newcastle and Wetherby, a district of sixty miles in length and forty in breadth, a town or village in which some of the inhabitants did not expire on the gibbet as a warning to their fellows.

In view of the forecast of Sussex and of the statement of our reliable historian we certainly are right in concluding that the number of "6 or 7 hundred at the least" was reached. These hangings, moreover, were prompted no less by religious hatred than by political reasons, because when at length pardon was offered to the survivors, they had to take not only the oath of allegiance but also that of supremacy; that is, they had to renounce their faith. We may therefore justly put these many hundreds of executions on the same level with the two hundred put to death under Mary for the sake of religion.

To these six or seven hundred must be added those slain during "the horrors committed in Ireland by the lieutenants of Elizabeth." I have not been able to obtain any definite or approximate figures of their numbers. Lingard, however, states (VI, 630) that at the end of the English operations Ireland was no better than an extensive wilderness, a term which evidently does not merely denote destruction of property but above all destruction of human life. This condition of Ireland was indeed partly due to famine, and to disease brought on by famine. But the famine had been brought on by English aggression and treachery. Father Dunne, who wrote his article to show how unfairly Catholics treat the "Protestant historical attitude", and who makes much of the "less than 200 killed" under Elizabeth in forty-five years, grants that the "horrors committed in Ireland by the lieutenants of Elizabeth" are possibly the worst brutalities of that cruel age.[4] If we presume that the number of the victims of purposely inflicted punishments in Ireland amounted not to hundreds but thousands, we are perhaps not far from being right.

Here is the place to point out how Queen Mary acted on a similar occasion.

In the first two years of her reign there were two risings for the purpose of making Jane Grey Queen of England. The second in particular was by far more formidable than any of those later on directed against Queen Elizabeth.[5] The chief seat of the revolt was the county of Kent. When the danger was over, some five hundred men "of the common sorte" were in the hands of the government.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, 249. [5] *Op. cit.*, V, 431-434.

About fifty of these paid for their crime on the gallows, and these are, as far as I can see, included in the 288 executed under Mary. She had the rest, some four hundred, brought to her presence, pronounced their pardon, and without imposing any oath or other condition told them to go home in peace. Nor did she dispatch any commissioner to that county with powers such as Elizabeth had given to the Earl of Sussex, her commissioner.

To be entirely fair, it is still necessary to call attention to an important circumstance: Americans are justly proud of being assured by their constitution that nobody shall be sentenced to any penalty *without due process of law*. The summary proceedings of court-martial are to be the rare exception and reserved for times of extraordinary danger. The frequent use of this form of trial would certainly not be looked upon as indicating a good government. Under Queen Mary it was resorted to in those fifty cases mentioned just before. Under Queen Elizabeth it was overwhelmingly the rule. In comparing the two queens this fact ought not to remain without careful consideration.

It is not the fault of the present writer if the reader is left under the impression that as far as the number of the executions is concerned, Queen Mary has nothing to fear from a comparison with Queen Elizabeth. But people have figured out that there were under Mary on the average fifty-five executions every year. Had she ruled forty-five years like Elizabeth, an enormous number of men would probably have fallen through the hand of the executioner. This calculation is based on the supposition that her executions would have continued at the same rate as long as she would be on the throne. This, one should say, is utterly improbable. The causes of the executions were bound to decrease in number and with them the executions themselves. Protestant writers tell us that at the time of Mary, heresy and sedition were almost convertible terms, and if the punishments took place in unprecedented number, it was because heresy existed on an unprecedented scale in England. It is not at all likely that these extraordinary conditions should have lasted long. Nor is it impossible that other counsels would have prevailed at the royal court independently of change or permanence of conditions.

II.

Torture. Both queens lived at a time when torture was still considered an indispensable adjunct of every criminal court. Even if we

had no express knowledge of the methods of the English courts, we should suppose that it was practiced under Mary as well as Elizabeth. Now in deciding which of the two governments, or which of the two queens personally, should be accused of special cruelty, we think that the extent to which the rack was employed, and the manner in which pain was inflicted, possess a great determining weight. Though in the courts of Mary the torture probably was not put out of use, I have never seen it alluded to in any way. It is very different with Elizabeth. Arnold Oskar Meyer's *England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth* contains remarkable pronouncements on the rôle torture played in the courts of that queen. In a long passage on this horrible subject the author refers to Richard Topcliffe, the professional torturer, who had obtained the "privilege" to take prisoners to the private torture chamber in his own dwelling, which was fitted out with instruments of his own invention. Nobody knew as exactly as he how much pain the human nervous system is capable of enduring. Dr. Meyer has the following to say about him:

> No blot is more foul on the history of Elizabeth's latter years than the name of Richard Topcliffe. Every inhuman quality which the most heated imagination can picture is embodied in this example of unspeakable degradation. Greed and perverse delight in inflicting suffering rather than religious fanaticism were the motives of Topcliffe's conduct. "Topcliffian customs" was a synonym for brutality; *topcliffizare* became a slang term for hunting a man to ruin and death. . . . Only a man like Topcliffe was capable of torturing afresh one who had already been broken on the rack. . . . *Had he not been sure of the queen's approval*, the wretch could not have plied his trade.[8]

This statement, made by a writer who enjoys the reputation of invariable fairness, throws a very sinister light on the methods of the Elizabethan government as well as the personal character of the queen herself. It is natural to ask, did Queen Mary also have a Topcliffe? Did she employ a man about whom some responsible writer would be willing to duplicate the verdict given by Meyer on Topcliffe? And if there was one, was he allowed as Topcliffe did to boast of the personal approval of the queen? It is not necessary to dilate on the conclusion which follows from the fact that all these questions must be answered in the negative.

[8] "There is no need to believe that the queen's favor went the length that Topcliffe boasted; nevertheless his vaunting would have been impossible had he not felt sure of his position as a trusted servant of Her Majesty" (p. 183. Italics ours).

Mention may be made here of a proceeding which, though legal under all governments, was nevertheless so frequently resorted to under Elizabeth as to form a true peculiarity of her reign, namely, the *domiciliary visits* of suspected Catholics. With his soldiers and a horde of volunteer helpers from the rabble of the county, the sheriff would, commonly by night, burst into the house of some prominent Catholic. Every bed and box and cupboard and wardrobe were searched and the contents thrown about; the wainscoting and floors were torn up; holes were made in the walls to discover hiding-places of priests or some other signs of their presence; and the house was left in a state of complete devastation. If there were domiciliary visits under Mary, and I have never seen them mentioned, they certainly were not so numerous as we find them to have been under Queen Elizabeth.

But Meyer assists us in comparing the two queens as to the practice of torture by another statement:

> Fairness is rightly held to be a strongly marked characteristic of the English people. How deeply this quality can be impaired by religious fanaticism is shown by the judicial murders systematically inflicted on those suspected of conspiracy. And yet the administration of justice presents still worse features than false witnesses and unjust judges. Torture (*peine forte et dure*) was applied in England from the time of Edward I only when the accused refused to plead. Under the Tudor monarchy torture became a royal prerogative in cases in which the safety of the state was held to be in danger. *The climax of this development was reached during the reign of Elizabeth.* Not only were the great majority of those who were tortured during this period—Catholic priests—considered *ipso facto* dangerous to the state, but the persecution of Catholics was at its height *just when torture had developed into a fine art, and the treatment* of prisoners was barbarous in the extreme.[1]

No further comment is needed on words like these. They indicate in whose favor our judgment should incline when comparing the two queens and their methods. In fact the italicized lines settle the question peremptorily, even if we did not have the passage on Topcliffe.

This discussion was occasioned by Father Dunne's article referred to above. Father Dunne marshals a large number of facts which caused and increased "the mighty stream of anti-Catholic feeling and tradition". Some of these facts we simply have to grant, and we do so without fear, *e. g.*, the cruelties of Alva, and the Gunpowder Plot. In such cases we disarm Protestant prejudice by pointing out that

[1] *Op. cit.*, 179. Italics ours.

we ourselves and the official Church with us disapprove of them as heartily as anybody else. In other instances we must show that the non-Catholic view is based on only a part of the real facts, or that unwarranted conclusions have been drawn from certain events or documents. Responsible historians, both Catholic and non-Catholic, have been working in this line at least for many decades, and they will continue to do so. But the truth must be spread among the masses, the educated as well as the uneducated, that is, there must be more popular historical instruction of the rank and file of the faithful. These must be enabled to set right historical misrepresentations met with in their dealings with non-Catholics. Though patience with Protestant prejudices is a necessary duty, it is a greater duty to assist our non-Catholic brethren in acquiring the correct notions about things and events of the Catholic past. Unfortunately it is not only the non-Catholics who entertain wrong historical ideas. By frequenting non-Catholic schools, by perusing objectionable books, by the constant reading of the daily and periodical press, which is permeated with incorrect and anti-Catholic views, numerous Catholics have come to look upon important Catholic events and upon the attitude taken by the Church towards certain conditions and movements with the eyes of those who nourish the prejudices characterized by Father Dunne.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN.

BOOK REVIEWS

Catholic World Atlas. By F. C. Streit, S.V.D. (New York: Society for the Propagation of the Faith. 1929. Pp. 38-xlvii.)

In the last analysis few things are more romantic than an atlas. It permits armchair traveling and really tells the truth. If to the ordinary romance of travel there be added the romance of the faith and the missions, to a Catholic an atlas has an even more striking appeal. To see the entire world open before one with every land, every island duly assigned its proper place in the territorial organization of the Church is thoroughly to grasp the meaning of the word *Catholic*; to see missions plainly marked amid the jungles of Africa, the teeming rice fields of Asia, the luxuriant islands of the cannibal East is to know the significance of *Apostolic.* In any case, it takes only fifteen minutes perusal of this magnificent folio to create a feeling of intense pride that one too can say: *Ego sum domesticus fidei.*

Fr. Streit, at the command of the Supreme Pontiff, has prepared a volume whose value can hardly be overstated and his subtitle, *A geographical and statistical description with maps of the Holy Roman Catholic Church with historical and ethnographical notices* adequately describes its comprehensiveness. Its maps, printed in color upon double sheets are as pleasing to the eye as they are informative to the mind. Of course, there are a few errors; not to expect them in a work of such magnitude would be presumption. For example in the map of Great Britain, the Dioceses of Galloway and Dunkeld, together with their See cities are transposed, Middlesborough is misspelt, the Archdiocese of Cardiff is labelled Newport, its former name, and the title of Down and Connor is reversed. It is to be regretted that from some points of view the United States is not favored in its treatment, for while the major part is to be found on two folios, parts have also to be sought on two others and the division is rather arbitrary. It should also be noted that since the atlas was originally issued, certain changes have taken place in the titles of American Sees, *e. g.*, that of Oklahoma City has had Tulsa tacked on, that of Lead, S. D., has been transferred to Rapid City, and Reno has been added.

The statistical and other data is concise and is based upon the latest available data. There is a splendid index of the names of ecclesiastical territories which comprises not only the national name together with its ecclesiastical Latin name, but also, wherever possible, its English, German, Italian, French and Spanish forms.

This volume, magnificent both in conception and execution, must have

been the result of long and exceedingly laborious work and no encomiums can be too high for its distinguished compiler. It is greatly to be desired that it will have the greatest possible circulation, especially in high schools and colleges where there is no reason why it should not be used to link together, in the study of geography, not merely the political and ethnological divisions of the world, but also the ecclesiastical.

P. G.

The Christian Religion: Its Origin and Progress. General Editor, J. F. Bethune Baker, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Vol. I: *The Rise of the Christian Church.* By the Rev. L. Elliott Binns, D. D., The Ven. J. W. Hunkins, B. D., and The Rev. J. F. Bethune Baker, D. D. (Cambridge: University Press. 1929. Pp. xiv, 373. 7/6 net.)

The formula by which conclusions are arrived at in this book is simple in the extreme. All that seems to be necessary, in order to reinterpret the origin and the early history of the Christian Religion, is to postulate Jews with strong monotheistic views and a rather vague Eschatology, to bring them into contact with a strange Hellenistic and Romanized world, and viewing both from the standpoint of what modern Psychology has to teach regarding religious experience, to employ an exegetical method resting on an unproved system of Probabilism. This scheme may require a little rearrangement of fact and some severe jars to historical sequence, but definite results may, nevertheless, be achieved. There is not much subtlety in the method once the miracle-working character of religious *experience* is admitted. A few plausible suppositions in addition, and everything works out smoothly. Thus, in the chapter entitled, "The Religious Experience of the First Disciples", there is a description of the Essenes, their method of life, their clothing, meals, etc. The description is not very striking, but it affords a jumping off place for the author, who continues: "Jesus then, *we may suppose* was in the habit of holding similar meals with His Disciples, the last and most memorable of which took place on the evening before His crucifixion." To say we may *not* suppose would be history. There is no evidence for the affirmative statement. At Pentecost "the disciples *appear* to have been carried away by a sudden strange impulse into the psychology of which we need not enter. It was *perhaps* the first example of Glossolalia, speaking with tongues" (p. 154). "Speaking with tongues", we are told later (p. 224), "is being worked up in a kind of ecstasy and uttering sounds which had no meaning for anyone but the speaker." The author of the Acts, if words mean anything, undoubtedly desired to be understood as saying the disciples *were* carried away by a strange influence, and he narrates that

every man of the multitude that heard them speak testified, we "heard our own tongue wherein we were born." Such an exegetical device does not rob the text of its difficulty. The same resort to *probability* runs through the book. "John the Baptizer *probably* meant it (Baptism) to be a symbolic action". (p. 137). "*Very likely* he had in mind Ezechiel's words," (p. 137. "We may with some *probability* continue the argument thus" (p. 154). "It seems *probable*" (p. 154). "It is highly *probable* that his position" (p. 156). "The Apostles *perhaps* felt it their duty" (p. 157). "*Possibly* also it was realized" (p. 158), etc., etc., etc. Probabilism in Ethics has caused some heart searching to rigoristic moralists, but Probabilism in history opens the door to unheard of divagations.

The discussion of the Narratives of Miracles is equally illuminating. "The Gospel picture shews Him as one who was regarded as having, as His own, power over men's minds and bodies that *seemed* to be miraculous." The casting out of devils, mentioned so frequently in the Gospels, is placed on the same footing as the activities of the "quack doctors" of today. "Jesus acted on the theory that disease was caused by evil spirits, and it was as a great exorcist of evil spirits that His first fame spread among the people", (p. 330). The restoration of the dead to life would not seem, according to the authors of this book, to have been the purport of the Gospel narrative. The daughter of Jairus was not dead but asleep: the widow's son at Nain was merely in a coma, "coma has frequently been mistaken for death" (p. 337). And so with the other miracles.

The course of Christian history, as here presented, is from the Jews with advanced monotheistic and eschatological views, through the religious *experience* of John the Baptizer and St. Paul, and in the sequence of the early chapters of Acts, the Epistles of St. Paul and the early traditions about Jesus as recorded in the Gospels. Such naively reactionary views from the standpoint of New Testament Exegesis are rather surprising coming from such a quarter. They are merely a refurbishing of the old theories of Semler, Eichorn, and Paulus, which were discarded by the more critical rationalism of a later time. The wrecks of many such theories are strewn all the way "von Reimarus zu Wrede". The work may give additional point to Pullan's animadversion on the critics of the naturalistic school: "Since the days of Reimarus they have manufactured Christs which threaten to become as numerous as the idols of a Tibetan temple, and so different that it is hard to suppose that all are intended as representations of the same being."

This volume is not so extreme in its destructive criticism as the works of Couchoud and Houtin but the general tendency is the same. Two other volumes are planned to complete the series. It is to be hoped they will be less subjective than this.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Catholic University of America.

A History of Science and Its Relations with Philosophy and Religion. By WILLIAM CECIL DAMPIER DAMPIER-WHETHAM. New Edition, revised and corrected. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xxi, 514. $4.00.)

Whetham's writings as a scientist have extended over a quarter of a century. In this wide-ranging account of scientific knowledge from ancient times down to the astounding developments of today we find the story of scientific achievement told in a fascinating style. The dominant note of the book, however, is not the development of science, but the influence it has played on systems of philosophy. From the Idealism of Plato down to the modern school of New Realism emanating from our own Harvard University we see the inevitable imprint left by science on the history of philosophy.

At one time one school of thought seems to reign supreme in scientific circles only to be succeeded by another, or perhaps, old ideas are revived in the light of newer knowledge and come as new philosophic discoveries to many. Two fundamental characteristics of modern scientific philosophy may be noted. The one dates from Galileo's recognition of the importance of experimental research and led to the overthrow of the older deductive Neo-Platonic and Scholastic systems of rationalized knowledge. It is the general acceptance of inductive reasoning as the basis of scientific progress. The other is the recognition that science, by its own inductive methods, cannot touch the problem of metaphysical reality.

Controversial potentialities arise from the view that "science may transcend its natural sphere and usefully criticize some other modes of contemporary thought and some of the dogmas in which theologians have expressed their beliefs." Few, however, will dispute the point that "to see life whole we need not only science, but ethics, art, and philosophy; we need the apprehension of a sacred mystery, the sense of communion with a Divine Power, which is the ultimate basis of religion".

Corrections have been made in this edition, though it has seen little, if any, revision from the old. It is a remarkably interesting volume.

The Catholic University of America. H. P. WARD.

Truths to Live By. By J. ELLIOT ROSS. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1929. Pp. x, 246. $2.00.)

There is a wealth of significance in the title that the author has given to his book. We cannot imagine anyone putting the scientific conclusions of Einstein, Millikan, Eddington and Pupin in a volume, and then entitling the work "Truths to Live By"; that is, anyone not yet having succumbed to the rather vague Gospel of Science of Alfred North Whitehead. Yet,

it is considered proper and even desirable that the mtaphysical abstractions of an Aquinas and an Aristotle should be set forth in a volume carrying this title. Science, highly practical as it is in one sense, is never thought to be a guide for right living by the man of ordinary sense. But philosophy, apparently removed from the current of every-day existence, is necessarily appealed to for guidance and inspiration in mundane affairs. Here is a work with an apt title that bears out Chesterton's saying that "the question is not whether the theory of the cosmos affects matters, but whether in the long run anything else affects them."

The author's aim apparently is the exposition and defence in simple language of some of the most solemn truths of Christian philosophy for the benefit of the lay reader. Naturally, a judgment of the work must be made in accordance with his perfectly legitimate intentions. It would be as absurd to expect here a detailed technical treatment of the profounder aspects of the problems of the existence of God, His nature, the nature of man and his immortality, as it would be to expect a highly technical exposition of sufficient and efficacious grace in the small catechism. But we have a right to expect clearness, simplicity, a wealth of homely but vivid illustrations—all of those elements which are provocative of popular interest. Under this relation, the author has succeeded admirably. It is a volume with pretensions neither to brilliancy nor to originality, but one of eminent soundness. Ia abounds in illustrations and analogies drawn from practical life and the scientific realm. The author's wide and varied experience among non-Catholic groups has assured in it sympathetic approach to their difficulties, without any sacrifice of principle.

The introduction to the volume is by that virile modern, Glenn Frank, President of the University of Wisconsin. His candid confession of the inability of the modern man to achieve happiness and content with his intellectual and emotional resources demonstrates a need for simple presentations of the truths of Christian philosophy. This work of Father Ross is a successful attempt partially to meet this need.

FULTON J. SHEEN.

Catholic University of America.

Kirchengeschichte auf Grund des Lehrbuchs von F. X. von Funk. Zweiter Teil: das Mittelater. Von KARL BIHLMEYER. Eighth completely revised edition. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1930. Pp. xii, 384.)

Dr. Bihlmeyer's Middle Ages lie between 692 and 1597, from the Byzantine Council of Trullo to the Lutheran revolt from Rome. Though entirely rewritten, the book does not depart from the "trodden paths" of German church historians. There is the ancient periodization, chaptering, sectioning, some matter in fairly large print, some in eye-fatiguing fine print.

The material is presented under the same time-honored captions, for example, the Papacy in its relations with the worldly powers; ecclesiastical controversies, heresies, schisms, religious practices, discipline, morals, etc., etc. What a glorious opportunity there is for some original-minded German church historian to seize hold of and win for a love of history, particularly of church history, the priesthood of the coming generation! Thus might one write freely and fairly if the book were written only for students. Dr. Bihlmeyer, however, expresses in his preface the hope that his book will in no important question fail either the seminarian or the interested scholar.

As a *vade mecum*, the book is admirably adapted to the use of busy pastors and, with limitations, for clerical and lay scholars who would probe deeper. For the former, the matter is par-boiled. For the latter there are well-selected lists of works for futher study, which books will in turn lead to still more specialized treatises. One might call attention, however, to the trouble which is bound to occur by citing works only by the names of their authors, without a general bibliography. The brief notice which the book necessarily takes of many things will hardly satisfy the specialist. In respect to content, Dr. Bihlmeyer cannot be charged with "modernism."

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Pennsylvania State College.

Kirchengeschichte. Unter Mitwirkung von A. BIGELMAIR, J. GRAVEN und A. VEIT. Herausgegeben von J. P. Kirsch. I. Bd. *Die Kirche in der antiken Kulturwelt.* (Freiburg i. B. 1930. Pp. xix, 875. With map. IV. Bd. 1. Teil. L. A. Veit. *Zeitalter des Invidualismus 1648-1800.* Ibid. 1931. pp. xxiii, 528. $5.75.)

The present Church history is an entirely new re-cast of Cardinal Hergenroether's manual. The good qualities of the original work which since 1876 has gone through six editions, have been retained: copiousness of matter, adequate treatment of interior as well as exterior development of the Church, detailed description of facts, saneness in critical discussions of mooted questions, astonishing erudition, loyalty to the Church, and complete bibliography of sources and literature. The first volume goes up to 692 A. D. The grouping of the matter under the different sections has been retained, but otherwise the changes are so numerous and thoroughgoing that the author was amply justified in cancelling the cardinal's name on the title page. Comparing the present work with the older editions, one notices the great progress made of late in two fields, internal development of the Church, and expansion beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire. Yet despite an astonishing activity of scholars of all

nations and creeds, many problems still remain unsettled. "The more we penetrate into the details of the immense material, the more we realize how much has to be done yet in future, particularly in certain extensive fields hitherto neglected, so that a comprehensive and exhaustive presentation of the history of the Church Universal may eventually be written (p. 39)."

The author's noted conservatism did not prevent him from adopting the latest findings and solutions of knotty problems at many places. When dealing with controverted points, reasons for both sides are given. One may not agree with the author at times, but one cannot find a single statement which must be regarded as an error. Certainly, the author, though a specialist in this field, has his limitations. Despite the general thoroughness of presentation, one would like to see some subjects treated more at length. The origin of the Church is described in the milieu of Greek and Roman culture, while the religious tenets of the cultured people of Persia, India, and China, are compressed into a few lines, and the religious aspirations of the uncultured people have been ignored. Christ was the "expectatio gentium." Ethnology and linguistics have thrown much light upon the religious aspirations of the uncultured pagans at the time of Christ, and the findings of these sciences should not be passed over. Certainly, a doctrinal influence of Greek and Roman paganism had to be rejected (p. 144). Yet Catholic scholars like Braun, Herwegen, and Doelger, have established a limited influence of Greek and Roman culture in external usages and ceremonies. The author mentions (p. 507) the custom of early Christians to receive Holy Communion standing with head bowed. To one familiar with Greek archaeology, this usage is not surprising. This was the attitude of greatest devotion in Greek temples. The bibliography placed at the end (pp. 766-850) and scattered in numerous footnotes is as complete as possible, even 1930 publications finding their place. The chronological, systematic method enables one to find easily the information about the origin of divine service, religious institutions, popular customs, and so forth. The volume is indeed the most comprehensive and up-to-date history of the early Church which we have in any language.

Ecclesiastical and political history in modern times are so interrelated that they cannot be well kept apart. Veit, revising Hergenroether's manual, grouped the material according to states. He gives a new setting to well-known facts. Yet the geographical-chronological method has the disadvantage of breaking up the continuity of development in many subjects like religious orders, theology, art, cult, Church discipline. Besides, the internal history of the Church finds meagre treatment. The chapter on the missions is exceptionally good, though inadequate. The large missions of the Augustinians, Capuchins, and Theatines in Russia, Tunis,

Congo, South America, India, Tibet and Nepal are passed over. What the author writes about the origin of Protestant missions (p. 444) is antiquated. It is not true that the Protestant mission movement first started in Holland about the middle of the seventeenth century. All the charters granted by England since 1578 enjoined the conversion of the Indians. The synod of Dort urged in 1619 all Calvinist rulers to Christianize the natives in their colonies. The Lutheran Swedes commenced their mission work among the Delaware Indians in 1643, and Cromwell founded in 1649 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, which still exists.

JOHN M. LENHART, O.M.Cap.

Hays, Kansas.

Episcopacy Ancient and Modern. Edited by CLAUDE JENKINS, D. D. and K. D. MACKENZIE, M. A. (London: S. P. C. K.; New York: The Macmillan Co. 1930. Pp. xxx, 412. 12/6 net.)

This book is frankly a plea for church union. It contains a tentative, though timidly outlined, program by which union may be effected. The program suggests episcopacy as the essential basis and bond for any scheme of union. The model, it is said, for a united Christendom may be found in an enlarged Lambeth Conference, which would be large enough and elastic enough to include such free lances and *franc-tireurs* of religion as the Baptists and Congregationalists. The book further illustrates that speculative tendency among certain thoughtful Protestants who are trying to obliterate or forget the sectarian development of centuries in the interest of unity, as opposed to what seems to be the connatural and ineradicable urge of Bible Protestantism to express itself in denominational and sectarian forms and diversities. The work is commendably eirenic in tone and exhibits on every page an objective, scholarly, and conciliatory spirit in the presentation of subjects which might easily lend themselves to sectarian bitterness and recrimination. In a sense this work may be looked on as an interim report on the results of the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order.

It is a joint production consisting of eleven chapters contributed by different specialists, and, as might naturally be expected, it is mainly devoted to a discussion of the polity and activities of the churches which are included in the Anglican Communion—England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, Canada, India, the West Indies, New Zealand, and South Africa. As a preliminary to the examination and analysis of the episcopal form of church government in modern times there are introductory chapters on "The Origins of Episcopacy", "The Position of Clergy and Laity in the Early Church in Relation to the Episcopate",

and "The Medieval Bishop". The picture of modern episcopacy, in addition to the chapters on the churches of the Anglican Communion, includes chapters on "Episcopacy in the Roman Catholic Church", "Episcopacy in the Eastern Orthodox Church", "Episcopacy in the Church of Sweden", "Episcopacy in the Old Catholic Churches", "The Continuity of the Ministry", "Episcopacy and Reunion" and "The Free Churches and Reunion."

The first impression a reader gains from the perusal of the pages of this intensely interesting volume is that the clock of time has been put back and that he is listening again to the voices of Cranmer, and Laud, and Henry, and Cartwright and even of Jacobus Arminius. The old questions are again brought up for discussion, but in a spirit far different from that which kindled the fires of Smithfield and sent the *Mayflower* to the shores of Massachusetts. Even though the effort to find a formula on which all the churches with an episcopal polity may agree does not seem to have been found by the authors who have collaborated to make this book, many interesting sidelights are thrown on the conception of episcopacy which prevails in some of these episcopally organized churches. Sir Henry Lund, who contributed the chapter on the Free Churches and Episcopacy, tells us that when the Anglican Bishop of Rochester visited the Palace of the Primate of Sweden after the Lambeth Conference in 1888, the Swedish Primate is reported to have said on seeing his card: "No, I cannot see him. His orders are not valid, and this Theology is too Calvinistic." There is, also, the little incident that Coke, who was ordained "Superintendent" for the American Methodists by Wesley, and who afterwards assumed the title of bishop, carried on a correspondence with Bishop White of the Protestant Episcopal Church in an "attempt, alleged to be in accordance with Wesley's mind, to effect a scheme of union, based on the re-ordination of Coke, Asbury, and the preachers."

All the chapters of the book manifest a very high degree of learning, and all are a frank expression of hopes and fears, hopes that some basis of union may be found, and fears that, if adjustments or concessions are made, episcopacy will lose its true character. The work is inconclusive to the degree that the writers still suffer from the limitations imposed by a nationalistic and, to some extent, a non-doctrinal and non-liturgical conception of episcopacy, and that they do not sufficiently take into account as opposed to their academic plea for union, the hard fact that where indifference does not prevail, denominationalism of a congregationalist and non-doctrinal character is on the increase. A decided gain for union must be registered, however, in the fact that the matters at issue can be discussed with such charity and amity, and that further discussion may dissipate many of the artificial or imaginary barriers that have perpetuated party animosities and party divisions. It is not without interest to note

that all the writers view episcopacy on its institutional rather than on its personal side. Practically no references are made to the qualifications which those should possess who are called to uphold the dignity and to discharge the responsibilities of the episcopate. St. Paul viewed the subject differently.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Catholic University of America.

A Golden Treasury of Medieval Literature. By JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., Ph.D., Litt.D., etc. (Boston: The Stratford Company. 1930. Pp. xvi, 314.)

Histories and anthologies of medieval literature are in a way more indispensable than most, since the material is often inaccessible and the general reader and student cannot always consult the texts. Dr. Walsh has endeavored in this book to stimulate an interest in the literary work of the Middle Ages since he is convinced that it will prove as interesting for our day as the artistic products of the period. The admiration of the author for the Middle Ages has long been evident, and this volume bears further evidence of the time he has spent in prowling about its literature unearthing many good bits of verse and prose. Consequently in this book can be found a large number of selections from the writings of the time, which in his opinion, most clearly represent the feelings of the medieval peoples. Since English medieval literature has been well explored it receives but little attention in this volume, and for the same reason the "Divine Comedy" is omitted, though several of Dante's sonnets have been included.

Nevertheless a wealth of material has been packed in these pages. There are chapters on the "Song of Roland", Spanish epic ballads, the "Arthur legends", "Nibelungenlied", the "Imitation", on books of travel, of biography, of manners, on the troubadours and the minnesingers, nineteen in all, and at that "only a glimpse at what is best in the hope that this may allure to further study."

There are however some flaws which mar the perfection of the volume. Would it not have been more correct to title Ferdinand III, King of Castile and Leon, rather than of Spain? And on p. 94, Dr. Neale, perhaps the greatest of English authorities on medieval hymnology, is cited as "an American collector of hymns". Would it not have been better to adhere to a consistent spelling of "Parsifal" or "Parzival", in referring to Wolfram von Eschenbach's work on pages 111 and 113? The quotation from the *Contra Gentes* given on p. 243 is from Bk. I, c. iv, and that on p. 245 is from Bk. IV, c. lxxxi. Again on p. 293, Thomas à Kempis is described as an Augustinian monk who belonged to the same order as Abbot Mendel; à Kempis was a Canon Regular.

We regret that the author has not always given the source, *viz.*, edition and page, from which his quotations have been taken, for it seems to us at least to minimize the value of his work. Finally, we hope that in the next edition he will include not only a bibliography, but a list of selected references, which would undoubtedly be appreciated by the student and general reader.

W. S.

St. Augustine's Conversion: An Outline to the time of his Ordination. By W. J. Sparrow Simpson, D. D. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1930. Pp. x, 276. $3.50.)

The author of this eminently readable volume has traced the intellectual and spiritual steps which transformed a careless and somewhat wayward schoolboy, Augustine the son of Monica and Patricius of Tagaste in Numidia, into that model of Christian sanctity, the prince of mystics and theologians, the Bishop of Hippo. There have been many books dealing with the same subject. Augustine, himself, explained the miracle in his *Confessions*. Modern psychological analysis was not satisfied, inasmuch as the *Confessions* were written thirteen years after the conversion, that Augustine could reproduce the actual mental states through which he had passed so long after he had experienced them. Efforts were made to check up on his accuracy by comparing what he recorded in his *Confessions* with what is to be found in the works he wrote at the time of, or shortly after, his conversion. The careful examination to which the author of this work has submitted the evidence tends to confirm the accuracy of Augustine's observations and has not led to a revision of any of his statements. It is important, also, to note that the author does not understand *conversion* in the evangelical sense of a vital religious crisis in which, as among the Methodists and other emotional exponents of the phenomenon of conversion, there is no need for instruction and preparation before being admitted to membership in the Christian body. Augustine, as the author is careful to explain, prepared himself for baptism by a retreat and by receiving instruction in the teachings of the Church. Augustine is the best guide, after all, to the nature and meaning of the miracle which led him to abandon his former beliefs and to submit to the authority of the Church.

A comprehensive knowledge of contemporaneous theological and philosophical thought has been drawn on to supply many of the details and much of the background which Augustine, in describing his mental and moral Odyssey from pagan indifference and error to Christian fervor and faith, necessarily took for granted in his readers. This study follows closely the devious and difficult path Augustine pursued in his search for peace and

truth. It follows his career until he was finally rewarded by the double gift, emancipation from the errors of paganism and its philosophy on the one hand, and the secure possession of the truths of the Christian religion on the other. The similarity, to which attention is so frequently directed, between the theological outlook and problems of the third and fourth centuries and those of the present, justifies the author in concluding that familiarity with the intellectual, moral, and religious development of St. Augustine should prove a source of real guidance amidst the perplexities of the modern world.

The history of Augustine's life is carried as far as the time of his return to Africa, and, therefore, the work includes the tender and touching story of Monica's maternal devotion and faith. It includes, also, a striking portrayal of the great ecclesiastical statesman, preacher, and bishop, St. Ambrose, the providential agent to whom Augustine owed his conversion. The book will take a permanent place among the English works devoted to the life of Augustine. Though the author shows his indebtedness to German writers who hold the principal place in his well-chosen bibliography, he has not surrendered his independence as an investigator to them or to others. He has very little to say in criticism of what Augustine, himself, reported regarding his conversion: what is added is principally by way of explanation. St. Augustine's mind was clearly shown on the subject of conversion by his resolve to devote himself to making a spiritual retreat and by being thoroughly instructed before receiving the sacrament of baptism. He further showed his humility, when towards the end of his life he wrote his *Retractationes*, even going so far as to make corrections wherever he thought there might be error or inexactness. Even in the matter of checking up on what he had said and taught in his earlier years Augustine anticipated his modern critics. Dr. Simpson had good authority for undertaking this analytic history of an extraordinary mind and soul, and he has acquitted himself in a manner which shows his own reverence before the subject and which will, no doubt, induce a feeling of reverence and veneration in his readers.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Catholic University of America.

Roger Bacon dans l'Histoire de la Philologie. By CH. BORROMÉE VANDEWALLE, O. F. M. (Paris: Extrait de la *France Franciscaine*. 1929. Pp. 210.)

These offprints, a doctorate thesis at the University of Louvain, are a contribution to the later better understanding of Roger Bacon. Though the writer treats specifically and in the main of Bacon's activities in the field of philological study, he finds occasion in two of the *appendices* to lay again the old ghosts of the persecution and the incarceration of Bacon by

the superiors of his Order. Again he rejects against Mandonnet (*Revue Néo-Scholastique, 1910*) the Baconian authorship of the *Speculum Astronomiae.* In assigning the thirteenth century Friar his rightful place in the earlier history of philological scholarship Father Vandewalle traverses the ground covered previously by Ewald Flügel; but he gathers much new and interesting material in support of their common view. Unfortunate in the half millenial prematureness of his birth, in philology as in other lines of scholarly research, Bacon, the writer shows, anticipated the critical methods of modern linguistic research, notwithstanding that comparative grammar still lay hidden in the womb of time, and Bacon in consequence was led to some deductions that are plainly erroneous. In all, Bacon appears not as a mere *studax,* but as a serious-minded religious man, who recognized in linguistic approach a better understanding of the words of Scripture than he feared was had in his day. By way of introduction to the thesis proper, a survey of philologic scholarship from the Alexandrines to the Oxford of the thirteenth century and a very full Baconian bibliography are provided. Too bad, on the one hand, that an *index rerum* was not supplied, and, otherwise, that this study of Roger Bacon is not Englished to be the more readily serviceable to students of English literature and history.

FRANCIS J. HEMELT.

The Catholic University of America.

Studies in the Script of Tours, I: A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours. By EDWARD KENNARD RAND. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America. 1929. Vol. I, Text, pp. xxi, 245; vol. II, plates CC. $50.00.)

This work of Doctor Rand represents a most important contribution to the study of Latin palaeography, and will prove of immense value to the student interested in the auxiliary sciences to history. In these studies, though stress has been laid on the styles of writing in the eighth and ninth centuries, the literary activity of the three establishments of the abbey at Marmoutier, the collegiate church of St. Martin and the cathedral of St. Maurice (later St. Gatian) from the sixth to the twelfth centuries has been considered. In Part A, the first two chapters are devoted to a study of the libraries at Tours and the characteristics of the script of Tours and its importance in the general field of the history of script. The third chapter deals with the details in the book description of Tours, namely, dimensions, ruling, gathering, signatures, abbreviations, punctuation and text. The fourth chapter gives an account of the historical development in the script through twelve periods, from the earliest books at Tours to the twelfth century. Part B affords a summary description

of the manuscripts of Tours divided into like periods. In the treatment of the first period covering the sixth and seventh centuries, the script familiar at Tours comprised round uncials with rustic capitals as well as minuscule script. With the eighth century the study of the writing at the centers of Tours becomes more exact. Thus we have the insular influence in the period of the Irish at Tours. Later periods present, among others, the Pre-Alcuinian Style and the Reforms of Alcuin, the Embellished Merovingian Style, the Regular Style, the style under the régime of Fridugisus. The ninth century offers a far greater number of manuscripts capable of definite recognition and definite assignment of date. An interesting consideration is offered in the study of Tours and its influence of other centers under the caption, Tours and the Franco-Saxon Style. The survey is continued through the writings of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.

After this historical section, there follows a complete, systematic description of each manuscript offered for study. Rarely is an essential item omitted and in every point dealt with, we have at least an expression of opinion. The volume is completed with copious indices of manuscripts, plates, authors and works and a general complete index. These indices serve also to render the use of the facsimile volume of manuscripts more easily usable. In the *Summary Description of the Manuscripts*, the author gives the location of the manuscript, its provenance, its subject, number and size of leaves, columns and lines. He then proceeds to give an adequate account of the ruling, gathering, signatures, script, abbreviations, punctuation, illuminations, corrections and other noteworthy features.

After examining three hundred manuscripts thought to be the work of the institutions of Tours, Professor Rand has recognized the claims of more than two hundred. The two hundred facsimile reproductions of the second volume enable one to appreciate the exquisite beauty of the texts discussed and will serve as excellent models of future works in the field of palaeography that must steadily assume a greater importance to the student of history, with the facilities at hand for obtaining original manuscripts in photostat or facsimile. The Mediaeval Academy is to be commended for making available in so splendid a form such important palaeographical studies as the one under consideration.

G. B. Stratemeier, O. P.

Catholic University of America.

An Introduction to the Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory. By H. W. Saunders, Litt. D. (Norwich, London: Jarrolds and Son. 1930. Pp. 213. 10/6.)

Dr. Saunders has inaugurated with this volume a work that will repre-

sent a real contribution to English ecclesiastical and particularly to monastic history. The present work is the first and the introductory volume of a series of six volumes already planned which will form an authoritative and the most exhaustive history of a Benedictine house which has yet appeared. It is only in comparatively recent years that scholars have explored the original documents of English cathedral churches, both monastic and secular; in such explorations they have brought to light much important information on the history of the great churches. Several scholars have known and have used the documents connected with Norwich, but Dr. Saunders is the first to subject these to a systematic study. In this volume he begins the story as he finds it in the official records. He gives first a general description of the priory and its possessions; he then describes the income and expenditures with that minuteness of detail in which students are so much interested. Each officer of the monastery is represented in the account rolls from the early part of the fourteenth century, and the homely records left by the officers throw much light on life in the priory during the several centuries of its existence.

The Norwich rolls are notable for their early date, their completeness, and their abundance of historical material. Dr. Saunders has handled these materials with notable patience and skill. He has not only given his readers a critical exposition of the contents of the rolls, but by his skillful arrangement of the wealth of details, he has aided much in their interpretation.

This work, together with the volumes to follow, will be indispensable for the student of English monastic history. Not all will agree with the conclusions which Dr. Saunders draws, but all will be interested in the evidence, much of it new and arranged in a fashion quite original, that he brings forth to support his conclusions.

There are many helpful maps, charts, and illustrations.

F. A. Mullin.

Catholic University of America.

The Civilization of the Renaissance. By James Westfall Thompson, George Rowley, Ferdinand Schevill, and George Sarton. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1929. Pp. 137. $2.00.)

This little book consists of the Mary Tuttle Bourdon lectures delivered at Mt. Holyoke College in 1929. Four eminent scholars were chosen to deliver addresses on four aspects of the Renaissance. The title of the book is a bit misleading, for a whole picture of Renaissance culture is not given; rather, there are four interesting cross-sections.

James Westfall Thompson contributes the lecture on exploration and discovery. He quotes Michelet's famous definition of the Renaissance as

"the discovery of the world and of man", and indicates that this was true in a literal as well as figurative sense. He advances the opinion that "St. Francis of Assisi did more to initiate the age of discovery and exploration than any other single person" (p.8). In glowing paragraphs he sings the saga of the Franciscan friars who carried the Gospel to the ends of the earth, true to the teaching of their founder, who was shocked at the idea of Crusade, who loved heathens and infidels, and who was "the greatest of all pacifists". The adventures of John of Plan-Carpini, of William of Ruysbroeck, of John of Montecorvino (first archbishop in China) live again in these pages.

The exploits of pioneers in Africa, the discovery of Timbuktu, the finding of black empires, the princely achievements inspired and fostered by Prince Henry the Navigator, are graphically set forth. It is refreshing in a debunking age to have heroes assigned the due reward of honor, to see their deeds as in truth heroic ones and not the mere results of sublimated selfishness. Columbus is hailed as the great organizer of his expedition, although Dr. Thompson believes that the navigating brains were in the head of Pinzon, captain of the *Pinta*.

It is but just that the author mentions the debt which the European navigators owed to the Arabs, who had long before boxed the compass of the Indian Ocean, who had made great scientific and cartographic progress.

Ferdinand Schevill's lecture deals with Italian Renaissance society. With picturesquesness of phrase and with the light touch of wit Dr. Schevill produces his pieces of historical literature, and this is no exception. Recognizing first the invariable human constant in all history, he shows the similarity between the Renaissance society and our own, and then points out the differences. Deftly and skillfully he describes the gild in its many-sided character, the struggle between gilds and feudal lords, and the emancipation of the former. Then follows the story of the gilds' succumbing to individual capitalism, the passing of democracy in the newly-liberated towns, the solution of internal strife by the *condottiere*, the prince's concern for the welfare of the great merchants, and his appeal to the townspeople by building his court and setting up as a patron of letters and the arts. All this leads inevitably to an intellectual revolt—humanism—and to the anarchistic self-expression of the artists. Dr. Schevill proves his points out of Macchiavelli and Benvenuto Cellini.

Then, he believes, rampant individualism overreached itself, "undermining its own towering edifice", and brought about the reaction of the Catholic Reformation. In the Reformations (both Catholic and Protestant) the author sees only an unfortunate throw-back to moral and ethical regimentation, resulting from the accentuation in the High Renaissance of those liberating qualities which he admires in the Early and Middle Renaissance.

George Sarton contributes the chapter on the science of the Renaissance. He, in a sense, deflates the period so far as any brilliant achievement in this field is concerned. He quotes Symonds to the effect that the Renaissance was "the Middle Ages in dissolution", and endeavors to show that this dictum is particularly applicable to the scientific investigation. He insists that this age was really an hiatus between two periods of advance in science; the twelfth-thirteenth century revival and that which began in the seventeenth century. The humanists he represents as anti-scientific and pedantic, the philosophical inferiors of the Schoolmen. He goes so far as to say that Renaissance intellectual leaders failed even to appreciate the importance of the geographical discoveries. Such scientific advance as can be assigned to the Renaissance Sarton would credit to the craftsmen, as, for example, the discoveries in anatomy and perspective made by painters and sculptors. He opines that the humanists did not introduce freedom of thought, that they substituted new prejudices and shackles for old, that they replaced cumbersome restraints by spiritual anarchy, that in the stead of "dull but honest" scholasticism they put "literary ideals too vague to be effective". The sole exceptions which he notes, in the midst of general intellectual eclipse, occur in the year 1543, with the publications of Copernicus and Vesalius.

George Rowley, in the lecture on Renaissance art, has given a clear analysis of his problem, dividing his subject into four essential questions (pp. 101-102):

"I. Gothic and Renaissance: What qualities have Masaccio and Jan van Eyck in common when they are contrasted with the Gothic artists preceding them?

"II. The Northern Renaissance: What are the differences between the new spirit in the north and in the south during their independence?

"III. The Italian Renaissance: What did Italy contribute to the Renaissance?

"IV. Renaissance and Baroque: How does the Renaissance as a whole differ from the Baroque of the seventeenth century?"

One is pleased to find the author recognizing Renaissance characteristics north of the Alps before Western Europe went Italianate. But there is much of disappointment in the lecture. Perhaps the disappointment is a sentimental one, for one likes to see and feel the glamor of those giants—Donatello, Botticelli, Michelangelo, Leonardo, Titian, Raphael, and all the host of glory.

Hewitt B. Vinnedge.

Callaway, Neb.

L'Union de l'Orient avec Rome, une controverse récente. Correspondance échangée entre S. B. Monseigneur Chrysostome Papadopoulos, Archévêque orthodoxe d'Athènes et de toute la Grèce, et Monseigneur Georges Calavassy, Evêque Catholique de rite Byzantin à Constantinople et en Grèce. Introduction et traduction. By HIEROMOINE PIERRE. [*Orientalia Christiana,* vol. XVIII, 1, (Rome, 1930.)]

This short correspondence (six letters, May 22, 1927-Sept. 15, 1928), into which Bishop G. Calavassy allowed himself to be tricked by the Orthodox Archbishop of Athens and which the latter abruptly brought to a close as soon as he had accomplished his own purpose, hardly deserves the name of controversy. Once engaged into it, Bishop Calavassy did his best to bring it up to a higher plane, hoping thereby to succeed in dispelling some of the misunderstandings between the two churches. But his opponent would have none of that, not until anyhow Bishop Calavassy and his priests and religious gave up wearing the same garb as the Orthodox clergy, and quit talking of their right to wear it because of Byzantine rite. There is no such thing as a Byzantine rite outside of the orthodox Church. All the talk of a Byzantine rite elsewhere than in the orthodox Church is but a maneuver of the Ounía (Uniatism). And the Ounía he holds, is a criminal and Jesuitic policy invented by Rome in the XVIth century to deceive the simple and lead them gradually and unawares to the Latin Church. The sooner Rome gives up this nefarious policy, the better for all parties concerned. And that's that. No answer, please. Such is the burden of Archbishop Papadopoulos's three letters, a little more of it in the second than in the first, a great deal more in the third one, and then, curtain.

This so-called controversy in which the two debaters never meet, is, as such, rather disappointing. We thoroughly advise, however, all those interested in the Union of the Churches to read it carefully. On the one hand, they will find in Bishop Calavassy's calm, courteous, lucid and well-documented retorts an excellent summary of the chief points to be settled between the Roman and the Orthodox Church, before the question of the Union can be tackled. [For instance, *the supremacy of the pope in the ancient Church* (pp. 72-100) and *the import of the note of Catholicity as applied to the Church of Christ* (pp. 101-105).] On the other hand, the diatribes of Archbishop Papadopoulos on the Ounía will bring home to them what practical difficulties, by way of chicanery, deep-rooted prejudice and constant and wilful evasion, beset those who labor to bring back the Orthodox Church to the fold of Christ.

H. HYVERNAT.

Catholic University of America.

Prolegomena: Commentarium Lovaniense in Codicem Iuris Canonici editum a Magistris et Doctoribus Universitatis Lovaniensis. By A. VANHOVE. Vol. I, tomus I. (Malines-Rome: H. Dessain. 1928. Pp. xx, 373.)

A number of professors of the University of Louvain are preparing a commentary on the Code of Canon Law in several volumes. The present volume is the introduction to this series. It begins with a treatise on law in general (part I) and canon law in particular as well as the several kinds of laws—divine, natural and human-ecclesiastical—embraced by that term (part II). In the third part the various collections, both public and private, which had been compiled with a view to enable a better study and observance of ecclesiastical laws are succinctly described and evaluated both for their juridic and historical worth. The best of the vast canonical literature of all ages is presented with a characterization of it in the several periods (part IV). The fifth and last part is devoted to the Code and the commentaries of it. To compress into a fair-sized volume the immense mass of materials at hand necessitated marked brevity, the list of canonical authors comprising a bare enumeration of their foremost works. In places even the mention of their works is dispensed with. This is usually the case where the nature of the works and usually their title is implied in the particular class of works under discussion. For the rest this volume is a comprehensive survey of canonical legislation and literature that will enable those entering upon the special study of canon law, for whom it is primarily intended, to gain a better understanding of the origin, progress and development of the Church's law.

V. SCHAAF, O.F.M.

Catholic University of America.

Le Bienheureux Claude de la Colombière de la Compagnie de Jésus; Notes Spirituelles et pages choisies. Par les PP. MONIER-VINARD et CONDAMIN. (Paris: Editions Spes. 1929. Pp. 315.)

This book of the collection *Maitres Spirituelles* would be classified as ascetical rather than historical. Yet Colombière is a product and a type of a remarkable period and as such his life and his writings belong to history. He has been called "the greatest French Jesuit of the seventeenth century." This high praise from the peerless historian of religious thought in the Grand Siècle, the literary creator of the *Thundering Abbot,* suggests a contrast. When Bremond wrote *l'Abbé Tempête* he gave us the rush and roar of a mountain torrent: when Monier-Vinard gathered his three hundred pages of exquisite delicacy from the notes, letters and sermons of Blessed Colombière, he made us feel the "gentle

rain from heaven." Bremond honors the French Academy in every line of clever, often iconoclast, criticism that reveals the human as well as the superhuman in his heroes; in Monier-Vinard we have the quiet sympathy and unassuming affection of a deeply spiritual admirer for a kindred soul.

Colombière is a talented student, brilliant professor, master of literary expression, impressive preacher. The early years of his religious life are bright with promise; but the waiting world is doomed to disappointment by his weakening health, his progressive lowering into obscurity and his early death. It all looked like a failure, but the author (or rather editor) sees at every turn the hand of Providence. The favor of Colbert, correspondence with the élite among the writers of the time, residence at the royal court of St. James, all serve but to accredit God's chosen servant for his mission as apostle of the Sacred Heart. Outward events are merely stage-setting: Colombière's interior life is a providential preparation for his great rôle of director of souls, especially of one chosen soul. The book has three parts, each proceded by an introduction. The analytic index is well done and very helpful. Père Condamin lends his aid as an exegete in matters of textual criticism. We smile to see him detect an eighteenth-century publisher rendering the "langage suranné" of the Grand Siècle "en meilleur français."

R. Corrigan, S.J.

University of Detroit.

A History of Italy, 1871–1915. By Benedetto Croce. Translated by Cecilia M. Ady. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. 333. $5.00.)

The famous Idealist who is the author of this volume has contributed what never fails to be interesting—history seen in the light of philosophy. We are given here not merely the results of research, not merely that quantum of philosophy, political, social, religious, and economic, which is the possession of every chronicler, even the poorest. We are given facts continually played on by a deep thinker, facts that we may have known before now presented in relations that never before occurred to us.

The philosophy is of course Idealism. In the chapter on "Thought and Ideals 1871-1890", the author sets forth at some length his complaint over the decline of a metaphysical philosophy, of the triumph of Spencer and other positivist thinkers in the universities of Italy, and of the unfortunate results in culture and political life. He thinks that schemes for the State control of railways are not merely more or less advantageous financial and administrative propositions, but are essential parts of a complete theory of morals and politics (p. 140), and that to be right about them you need not merely experience and honesty, but the right

sort of principles. And he complains that this sort of principles came to be very rare in the period under consideration.

Yet if the reader goes back to the first chapter he will find in the very title "Historical *Realities*" an omen of the contents, which to innocent minds look strangely like the kind of thing that might be written by Mr. Dewey (just as Mr. Dewey in getting dithyrambic about Russia in the pages of the *New Republic* often seems to approach the Idealism of Hegel himself and thus to out-Croce Croce). Terrible debates went on between the Right and the Left in the early days. Intransigent idealists stood against each other. Then suddenly came a phenomenon known as "Transformism". Representatives of the two parties began to compromise. At this pragmatic turn the older Idealists were duly scandalized, it seems. But wrongly so, Professor Croce tells us, for the "true meaning of political conflict" is that men should agree and disagree "not in the terms of abstract and empty programmes but on concrete questions and practical expedients", and that they should follow "those leaders who at various times give them hope of realizing that which seems to them to be good and desirable." If Depretis, content with the "practically possible", triumphed politically over the chivalrous Cairoli and the upright Sella, the fact may dispease poets like Carducci but is perfectly comprehensible and justifiable to the Idealist philosopher (*cf.* pp. 22-23).

In treating of matters connected with the Catholic Church, Croce is aloof, cold, but never insulting. He relates how the government in the first days after September 20 thought of an international agreement as to the position of the Pope. But when the various powers showed no inclination to accept this invitation, Italy proceeded to the Law of Guarantees "a method more in confirmity with the idea of a modern state, and with the dignity of Italy" (p. 31). This time then ideals are invoked once more. But in this case the eternal fitness was more in effect in 1871 than in the year of the Lateran Treaties.

Croce is not called upon to treat of what happened in 1929. But on pp. 67-68 he grows again pragmatic. He recognizes a contradiction between the Law of Guarantees and the jurisdictional expedients of the "placet" and "exequatur". But in this and other facts lies an "instance of the common interests and tacit agreement existing between Italy and the Papacy amid all the noise of abuse and counter-abuse which they were forced to employ against each other on the stage of the world".

He thinks that our time marks "the beginning of the absorption of Christianity into pure philosophy" (p. 127). But meanwhile violent anti-clericalism and anti-religious demonstrations are out of place, and free-masons should not imitate the bad methods of the Jesuits (p. 69). In two longish passages (p. 176 sqq. and 222 eqq.) the relations of Church and State are treated, but in these passages there is little more than

narrative, and, while somewhat cold and superior, the author does not go in for tirades.

After 1890, when Italians began to appreciate Marx, the intellectuals began to show more depth of thought and to get away from sperficial Spencer. They still had to struggle however with d'Annunzian nationalism, industrialism and eroticism. And apparently they never had any completely adequate resources until a Neapolitan student showed them the way out. Pages 243 and following contain a remarkable "autoritratto":

> The principles set forth in the volume on Aesthetic—penetrated everywhere—producing not merely echoes but results in the international world of thought and knowledge. It may be said to have inspired everything of importance that was produced in Italy in the field of philosophical and historical study, criticism of poetry, music and the fine arts, linguistic studies, legal and economic science, the history of thought and civilization and religious and educational controversies; thus after an interval of two centuries, it recovered for Italian thought an active part in the thought of Europe, and even a kind of primacy in certain branches of study.

After this formidable passage there is little left to say except to praise the quality of the translation.

JOSEPH P. CHRISTOPHER.

The Catholic University of America.

Wolsey. By HILAIRE BELLOC. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1930. Pp. xii, 336. $5.00.)

A year ago, in a volume of which from a bookmaking point of view the present one is a counterpart, Mr. Belloc emphasized and outlined those policies of Richelieu which consolidated the cleavage of Europe into a Northern and Protestant and Southern and Catholic regions. Now going back a century, he analyzes the career of one more of those royal ministers who, glorying in the style and dignities of a Prince of the Church, unwittingly used that power mortally to wound it; for if Richelieu prevented the arresting of the process of Protestant consolidation in Germany and the Netherlands, Wolsey by reason of his share in bringing about the Henrician schism had made possible a Protestant England, which under Elizabeth and James I was to be the sheet anchor of those islands in their inception and early struggles. Neither Wolsey nor Richelieu willed the inevitable result of their activities which was hidden from them. Both at heart were Catholics, but they lacked all spiritual vision and their limited and worldly outlook provoked serious damage to the Church, whose livery they wore and whose Faith they professed. Here, however, Richelieu shows to better advantage than does the Cardinal of York. He was a statesman

and an intelligent patriot, but Wolsey was little better than an astute, ambitious politician. The Frenchman left behind him results that lasted for years in the political development of Europe. He remade the map of Europe till our own time almost. Wolsey's foreign policy was an unmitigated failure.

Yet Wolsey is a more likeable character. His phenomenal rise to power, his humaneness, even his failure to realize the power of Boleyn's eyes and the iron of Boleyn's will, give him a personal interest lacking in the cold aristocrat across the channel. He has color and this color Mr. Belloc has succeeded in conveying. This time he has written a biography rather than a political study. At the close of its perusal we know more of what Wolsey was, besides what he did, than is always the case with Mr. Belloc's biographies.

What one again notes here, however, as in Mr. Belloc's other works, is that ability to grasp the crucial points, the fundamental strengths and weaknesses, the determining coincidences of facts and persons, in a word the fundamental reasons for things which makes Mr. Belloc so superior to his contemporaries.

P. G.

Johnson of the Mohawks. By ARTHUR POUND. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1930. Pp. xv, 556. $5.00.)

Of the many portraits historians have given us of Sir William Johnson, Bart., Mohawk War Chief, Major General and Empire builder, the present one seems by far the most faithful in color and in detail the most accurate. The book is interesting, even fascinating, and evinces a scholarship not too common in this book-ridden age. It is the kind of book one cannot put aside before he has turned the last page.

In the manner of one in love with this subject, yet at once frank and uncompromising, the author relates the strange and gripping story of a young Irish lad of twenty-three, who leaves home and loved ones (1738) to embark for the shores of distant America, where he is to manage the estate of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren. He finds New York "small, dull and dirty as the city was at that time," but here he makes his home for some months, "entering into the festivities with a wholehearted gaiety which continued to be his until the end of his days." However, he soon embarks, equipped, aboard a sloop on his way up the Hudson to his future home on the Mohawk frontier, where he was to live a life "curious and exciting". From the very outset the person of Johnson for brain and brawn was a commanding figure in this frontier country. He led a life of its very nature vigorous and exacting; "ran the gauntlet of Indian furies and privations of the wilderness," but made

himself always the master of every occasion. He possessed a kindly Celtic disposition, and took constant care ever to "act with honor and honesty" toward all men. He became, consequently, beloved and trusted by all, red and white. Success followed him in his every undertaking. As manager of his uncle's estate, he showed unusual ability for his age, and in a few short years had become an immensely wealthy man. To the Indian, especially the Iroquois, he was a friend and protector. He knew their language and had been attracted early and profoundly influenced by their life. While most Englishmen, not to exclude the Dutch and the French who did their share, were engaged in the profitable business "of alienating Indian lands, by hook and crook, by arms and treaties, by false surveys . . . in every devious way known to civilized man," Johnson labored unceasingly "for compensation, for proper surveys, for the sanctity of treaties, for the education of the Indian as opposed to their extirpation." By so doing, he earned the undying gratitude and confidence of the redman, and adoption by solemn rite among his people. In his capacity of Mohawk War Chief, and as the Crown's Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he was in a position to render invaluable services to His Majesty in peace and in war. One has only to read the account of the many stirring military engagements of the French and Indian War to realize how beholding the English were to Johnson and his redskins for their telling support. For his part in the victory of Lake George, Johnson received a baronetcy, was made a major general of the Royal Forces in America and the sole agent of His Majesty in Indian Affairs. Ever their champion in time of peace against the continued injustices of the white man, their counselor and leader in time of war, Johnson spent much of his life among the people of his adoption, enjoyed their honors and shared their confidence; in death, they came in great numbers to chant beside his bier "for the spirit of their brother who had been raised up by the Great Spirit." And so ended the life of a great man, whose name and deeds live after him.

So entertaining and instructive was the reading of this biography, so fair and unbiased the judgments of the author for the most part, that it is to be regretted that exception must be taken to certain statements of the book, thereby bringing into question the factual accuracy of which the publisher boasts. First, speaking of the Lawrence campaign in Nova Scotia, the author says, "Thanks to Longfellow, no myth needs exploding more that this one of innocent Acadians shipped off their hard-won acres by British bullies." Should Mr. Pound consult Shea, Guilday, or a few unbiased historians, he might discover that Longfellow spoke less a myth than he supposed; and further, that the British after the treaty of 1713 did *not* "make the same effort to conciliate the Acadians by mild measures and religious toleration that they employed so successfully in Canada

later." It will also become more evident that the revolt among the Acadians was not caused so much by the "French Governors of Canada who busied themselves reminding the Acadians they were Frenchmen," as by their resistence to an oath of allegiance, which was a denial, implicitly at least, of their Faith. When they refused, the Winslow Act of September 5, 1755, forced two thousand of them aboard British vessels at the point of the bayonet; separated husbands from wives, parents from children, and deported them to various colonial ports befriended by folk whose hatred for their Faith and race dried up the spring of charity. Mild measures these, and religious toleration! Secondly, it is more than interesting to know that the blame for the ignominious defeat of General Braddock should be given to his aide and adviser, George Washington, who caused "the army to march in two sections . . . thereby effecting at the outset one of the stock errors of strategy . . . dividing forces in the face, or at least in the vicinity, of the enemy." The author must have his authority for so exculpating Braddock, but he does not give it. Thirdly, Mr. Pound certainly must make some exceptions when he says, "we mortals have revised certain older social judgments on love and marriage." There are a few mortals, Catholics for instance, who are still so inured to the "hard conventions and stern family obligations" of the old world as to consider fornication and adultery sinful, even in the case of the high and mighty, no matter how much his union "of utility" be surrounded by "its idyllic love notes, its tranquil domesticity, its constructive virtues." Catholics still believe that it does matter "whether such a union has the blessing of the Church or state", and matters fundamentally; that clerical blessings and statute regularity are not "in the nature of after-thoughts", and that the union "can get along without them fairly well". Modern biography? of course, modern ethics! However, for condoning "in his interesting theories" the "affairs" of "the ultra-male whose terrific virility overthrows all the barriers which conscience, religion, and social position rear against its expression," Mr. Pound ought to be, and by every reader, who is more than nominally Catholic, will be, roundly condemned.

The inclusion of numerous reproductions of contemporary maps and pictures heighten the value of this biography of Sir William Johnson.

E. C. LaM.

Great American Foundresses. By The Rev. JOSEPH B. CODE, M.A., S.T.B., St. Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xviii, 512. $5.00.)

"See America first", is obviously Father Joseph B. Code's motto. There is no evidence that he applies it in the common way to the infinitely varied scenery of this land; but no one will doubt that he firmly believes

in it where America's history, its Catholic history, is concerned. As a proof of this we have from his pen already a few years ago a matchless translation of Mr. de Barberey's excellent Life of Mother Seton; and now he presents to us a galaxy of sixteen "Great American Foundresses", pioneers of the faith and of religious life in the New World, all worthy by their saintly lives, their labors and the institutions mothered by them, of a shrine in the Hall of Fame of the Catholic Church in America. So much did the reviewer loiter lazily through the highways and by-ways of each one of these historical landscapes, and so entirely did he surrender to the charm, that, selfishly oblivious of time, he delayed beyond measure the fulfilment of his promise to tell something of his travelling impressions on his return from the delightful journey.

A book like this, dealing with sixteen different women, all successfully pursuing after holiness of life, yet every one differing from the others in the way of attaining it; all foundresses of as many communities as varied in their works as in their dress; hailing from Canada or France, or born on the American continent; some the children of Catholic families, others converts to the faith; reaching from the far away middle of the eighteenth century to our own times (Mother Alphonsa Lathrop died in 1925), is well-nigh impossible to analyze. Each one of these biographical sketches, brief as it had to be, reveals enough of the life of the great woman whom it deals with to afford to the reader an intimate glimpse into her soul, the working of divine grace in her, and the lasting accomplishments she achieved, generally through trials and pain and sorrow and even at times persecution, for the glory of God and the upbuilding of his Church in this land of ours. Through the discreetly half-opened door of monastery, convent or community house the writer enables us to peer into the daily routine of these abodes of prayer, unceasing toil and spiritual joy; to realize the task fulfilled day in and day out as a matter of course by their devoted inmates.

Some of these American foundresses have already found their historian; we fancy that Father Code must at times have experienced that "the work of abridging" then imposed upon him is "business full of watching and sweat", to put it in the words of his illustrious predecessors (II Mach., ii, 27). The materials and documents gathered and used in the sketches of the worthy women otherwise as yet unsung, are in not a few cases but a part of a vast store of information which, it is to be hoped, will tempt some future biographer to a work more commensurate with the merit and accomplishments of these saintly pioneers. Meantime it is ingratiating news to all lovers of our Catholic American history to learn that Father Code has in reserve the materials for a second volume. The present book has keenly whetted their appetite, and they fondly hope the writer will not delay too long the fulfilment of his promise.

Deliberately the writer, having principally in view the average reader, has omitted all references to the sources. Would not, however, in connection with those of the "Great American Foundresses" whose lives have been written, just a mention of the principal works published have been a boon to "the average reader", desirous of knowing more on the subject? A good index greatly facilitates the use of the volume, the material make up of which leaves nothing to be desired.

CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C.M.

Kenrick Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.

Ferdinand Magellan. Edited by MILTON WALDMAN. By E. F. BENSON. [The Golden Hind Series.] (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd. 1929. Pp. ix, 261. 12s. 6d. net.)

Were it not that Magellan's famous voyage with its thrilling adventures is a well-known matter of historical record, the volume under review might be classified as a finely wrought and ably written piece of fiction. As it is, Mr. Benson's *Ferdinand Magellan* proves that in the hands of a master of narration an otherwise dull series of events can be turned into a fascinating story of adventure and romance. We have here a fireside book in the best sense of the term, written for the general public as well as for the student of history.

Magellan's project, ridiculed and rejected by the King of Portugal and soon after seconded and supported by the King of Spain, was to find a waterway somewhere across the southern of the newly discovered western hemispheres and by means of this strait to reach the Spice Islands in the Far East. This enterprise, in its inception and outcome, makes Magellan one of the most tragic figures in American history—tragic in the sense that death and defeat, resulting from a single unforseen misadventure, met the hero at the very moment when the triumph of his enterprise was assured.

The secret plotting against Magellan and his project, engineered by an agent of the King of Portugal during Magellan's preparations for the voyage; the mutiny that broke out against him when the five vessels of the fleet lay in the Bay of St. Julian; the wreck of the *Santiago* and the rescue of its crew; the finding of the strait and the final passage through it into the Pacific; the desertion of the *San Antonio,* the largest of Magellan's ships; the arrival and sojourn in the Philippines and the dealings with the natives of Cebu, whose king with many of the people accepted Christianity and promised allegiance to the King of Spain; the heroic, though ill-advised, attempt to win over the natives of Mactan by overawing them and the untimely death of Magellan in the skirmish that ensued; the further progress of the remaining three vessels after the leader's death, end-

ing with the return of the *Victoria* to Spain three years after the fleet had left Seville—these and the minor episodes of the expedition are related in a manner that rivets the attention of the reader and fills him with regret over the sad lot that befell the leader of the enterprise.

Before closing the story the author draws an interesting parallel between Diaz, Columbus, and Magellan. "It is agreed by experts", he writes, "that as navigator he [Magellan] ranks above all others, and on this score one must place him at the head of the master-mariners (p. 247)."

The story of the voyage is not burdened with footnote references. This does not mean that the author has neglected to search and study the sources relating to his theme. In his preface and here and there in the narrative he discusses controverted points of the expedition and directs attention to the various accounts of the voyage that have come down to us. For the voyage itself he draws mainly from the diary of Pigafetta, an Italian who accompanied the expedition because he was eager to see "the very great and awful things of the ocean." Pigafetta's descriptions of the weather, of the flora and fauna, of the Patagonia giants, etc., greatly serve to enliven the narrative. In an appendix to the volume the author compares Pigafetta's diary with the one that Fletcher kept during the voyage of Francis Drake. The result of this critical investigation, it is interesting to note, inclines the author to the opinion "that Fletcher does not corroborate [Pigafetta] at all, but only plagiarizes" and that consequently one begins "somewhat to distrust Fletcher, even as Francis Drake did (pp. 253, 254)."

The volume is handsomely and tastefully bound. Besides the frontispiece, a portrait of Magellan, there are two very serviceable maps, one delineating the circumnavigation of the globe by the *Victoria* and the other depicting the waterway that constitutes the Strait of Magellan.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK, O.F.M.

Quincy College, Ill.

Dominicans in Early Florida. By the VERY REV. V. F. O'DANIEL, O.P., S.T.M., Litt. D. (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society. 1930. Pp. xiii, 230.)

This latest number of the United States Catholic Historical Society's Monograph Series is a contribution from the pen of one of the foremost Catholic historians in our country today, the historiographer of the Eastern Province of American Dominicans, the well-known Doctor O'Daniel. Following the precedent set in his earlier works this learned author again undertakes to unearth buried historical treasures and to open sealed mines of historical lore, this time relating to his early Spanish brethren in early

Florida. That he has succeeded admirably in his purpose, anyone who takes the trouble even to cursorily scan the pages will agree; yet in order to appreciate the research and historical skill involved in its production one must realize the almost absolute dearth of material with which the author was confronted. In English it was a closed book; there were no works extant dealing *ex professo* with precisely this phase of Catholic history. The information had to be gleaned from various sources, prejudiced against his Church or, at least, against his Order. Still his rare historical acumen, and his laborious research has enabled him to select judiciously and authoritatively the facts herein presented. The story itself is genuinely interesting; the adventures of these missionaries as thrilling as any in our history. Particularly worthy of mention are: the account of Luis Cancer's expedition and martyrdom, of the shipwrecked fleet and long overland journey from the Alabama coast to Mexico City of the lone survivor, Brother Mark de Mena, and of de Luna's ill-starred expedition. Especially worthy of note is the chapter on Father Luis Cancer, Proto-Martyr of Florida, both because of the importance of its subject and because it receives more extensive treatment than the others. Other outstanding sketches are those of Father Dominic de Salazar—afterwards first Bishop in the Philippines—and Dominic de la Anunciación. Twenty-four members of the Order are treated in sketches varying in length, according to the number and quality of available sources; in some cases the records are very meager, in others surprisingly complete. An orderly index, a splendid bibliography, and ample footnotes give this monograph that scholarly finish so characteristic of O'Daniel's works.

T. R. S.

The Church, The State, and Education in Virginia. By SADIE BELL. (Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press. 1930. Pp. xii, 796.)

In every page of this large volume there is evidence of industry and careful research on the part of the writer. Facts and statements are supported by abundant references. The work is a treatise on education, but it is likewise a chronicle of historical events that have influenced this subject in the State of Virginia. It is a thorough discussion of the question of the place religion should hold in public education.

The purpose of the study, as stated in the preface, is to offer an explanation of present day attitudes toward the problem of religion in education, and the relation of Church and State to that problem. This purpose, I believe, is successfully achieved.

The work has a threefold logical division: I, the period of union between Church and State—from the founding of the Virginia Colony to the Revolution; II, the period of separation—from the Revolution to the

War between the States; III, the period of coöperation between Church and State without legal alliance. The efforts of the State and its various religious denominations in the cause of education are so minutely described that the result is almost an annual record of the activities of all the schools, large and small, in the State of Virginia.

As the writer clearly shows, the early period of union between Church and State has influenced the history of education in Virginia down to the present time. Thus with no legal provision whatever, the practice of Bible reading and Bible study has developed in nearly all schools of every class. Indeed, all educational institutions—State, denominational and non-sectarian—admit the foundation of some form of religious influence.

Due attention is given to the records and recent growth of Catholic schools. More outstanding consideration, however, is extended to the educational activities of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist churches on account of their larger proportion of Virginia's population.

The conclusion finally reached is that "the answer of Virginia to the problem of the relation of church and state to education (is) that church and state influences may work together upon education, provided the basis of coöperation is not a legal bond, but one of mutual understanding."

This volume is a study for the student interested in educational history and research. The casual reader may object to its very wealth of detail. It is a work that should prove useful and valuable to schoolmen not only in Virginia but also in other states.

JOHN A. KELLIHER, Ph.D.

Richmond, Va.

The Sentinellist Agitation in New England. By J. ALBERT FOISY, A. B. (Providence Visitor Press. 1930. Pp. vi, 243.)

The American Church has seen nothing in recent years so disastrous to discipline nor so disedifying to the faithful as the rift between the French Canadians in New England and their ecclesiastical superiors. It is a mistake to speak of it as a break; it is better expressed by the title of this book—an agitation—for only the leaders carried it to the point where Rome retaliated by excommunication. Besides, since these leaders have retracted, the issue is, in distant quarters, considered closed, but it will take more than the signing of a document of submission to remove the ill-feeling and to blot out the scandal. The movement, centralized in Rhode Island and having as its principal object of attack Bishop Hickey of Providence, was in the minds of the agitators a defensive "war against the Irish American episcopate". Its roots were laid deep in the Irish opposition to French-Candian immigrants of sixty years ago, because these newcomers who did not intend to stay, worked for less than the established Irish in the New England mills. They did stay, however, and

stayed as a distinct national group, ever urging one another to repel "assimilation". Digging up old hatreds to keep this doctrine in a place of prominence, they saw in the new expansive program of the Rhode Island parochial schools a move on the part of Irishmen in the episcopate to Americanize a group of Canadians who wanted to remain French.

Mr. Foisy, who is opposed to assimilation insofar as it implies a break with the religion and culture of the past, realizes the advantages to be gained by making some concessions, and the debt of his countrymen to the land of their adoption. In the *Sentinellist Agitation* he records the attack of Mr. Elphege Daignault and his associates through the pages of *La Sentinelle,* later *La Verité,* then *La Bataille* and finally *La Defense*—the names being quite short-lived because of ecclesiastical prohibitions. The grounds of complaint he reduces to four: (1) The Diocesan High School Drive; (2) The Foundation of the Notre Dame Hospital in Central Falls; (3) The "assimilation" policy of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; and (4) General Diocesan Administration. In his defense of Bishop Hickey, the author expounds his thesis not without indignation—often starting fifteen paragraphs on a page. But he conclusively shows the folly of the Daignault faction after being rejected by Rome, in citing the bishop in a civil court, and the obvious bad faith of the mud-slingers who, after excommunication tried to induce their followers into schism. He insists on the good faith of the great mass of French-Canadian people and explains the unofficial, but persistent aid given by the clergy of Quebec as the result of their ignorance of conditions. That the agitators made many absurd and untenable claims and used vile and violent methods to substantiate them is clearly demonstrated.

Yet, the logic and conviction which permeates Mr. Foisy's work should not leave the student with the feeling that the triumph in the civil courts and the sentence of Rome has finally healed a sore in the two leading Catholic groups of New England. It was one of those battles which nobody wins; and it remains a situation which requires infinite patience and exquisite tact that it be not too easily brought out into the open again to scandalize the little ones and completely destroy one of the strongest centers of Catholicity in the nation.

U. N.

Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico. By CHARLES S. BRADEN. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1930. Pp. xv, 344. $3.50.)

An appealing and timely subject, this volume will, no doubt, be well received by the public. As the author so aptly says, "When, if ever before, was conquest on such a vast scale attempted? When, if ever, were such unnumbered hosts of people induced within so brief a period to aban-

don their age-old religious beliefs and practices and embrace a strange cult brought from a distant land?" The problem tackled here formally for the first time is too complex to be properly treated in one volume. The conversion of a vast native population within twenty-five, or even a hundred years, after the first appearance of Cortez in Mexico in 1520, is a social and moral phenomenon that cannot be explained satisfactorily without a more detailed study than is possible in a brief treatise such as the present. The author was courageous to attempt the solution of this mooted and oft-discussed question, but his work merely points out the many difficulties in in arriving at a sane and impartial conclusion as to the factors that made possible the conversion and the extent and sincerity of it.

The statement that many Protestants and "now a few Catholics" are inclined to believe that in reality the Indians were not converted to the new faith, but merely conformed outwardly in order to avoid molestation from the conquerors and because the forms of worship of the new religion made it easy for them to carry over their former idolatrous practices may be true in so far as it concerns Protestants, who have always doubted the work of the early missionaries, and even in the case of superficial Catholics, but the author does not present sufficient evidence to show that this opinion is well founded or that it can be upheld by proof. Though throughout the first part of the book a sincere effort is made to treat the subject impartially, towards the end we find the personal bias, whether conscious or unconscious, of the author running away with his better judgment. The conclusions reached are the traditional views that have been held by casual and superficial observers, and in not a few instances by admittedly open critics of Catholicism. This is surprising in a historian, whose real aim is to arrive at the truth, free of all prejudice.

In speaking of the religion of the Spaniards of the sixteenth century the author declares: "Religion to the Spaniard . . . meant acceptance of what the Church taught, and . . . a minimum amount of observance," and adds "to those early preachers and fanatical Catholic conquerors of Mexico, not the differences but the resemblances became the center of attention." To declare the missionaries and the conquerors *fanatical* is bad taste in a historian who claims to be impartial, particularly when no other authority is quoted to sustain this assertion than Prescott, whom on one today quotes as an authority, though his work no doubt had great influence in awakening interest in the romantic history of the Conquest of Mexico.

On page 136, after being forced to admit from all the evidence available that "the choice of the first missionaries was fortunate", the author adds as his own opinion, for he gives no authority for it, that "they were of a sort that modern evangelical Christianity no longer holds as ideal. They were narrow and fanatical. Their conception of religion faulty." Who has declared that those holy men, some of whom have been canonized and

others declared heroic for their virtues by the Church, were narrow and fanatical? This may be the opinion of the author of this particular work, but an impartial historian is not to emit his opinion unless he can substantiate it with facts or proof.

In the preface and throughout the whole work the author repeatedly refers to the Franciscan "monks". Any one attempting to write on the conversion of Mexico to Catholicism should certainly make an effort to acquaint himself with the organization of religious Orders that carried out the work, to avoid falling into such a glaring error as to call a friar a monk. There are fundamental differences between the two that cannot be ignored by the historian. As a matter of fact, there were no monks in Mexico at any time.

There are serious inconsistencies throughout the book that are confusing. For example, on page 157, speaking of the time it took the missionaries to prepare themselves for the great work of converting the Indians, it is stated: "At the end of a half year the friars were able to speak reasonably well in the Indian tongue, and with the help of the better students, they had soon translated parts of the Christian doctrine into the native languages and put it to music so appealing that it greatly attracted the people", but on page 226, in trying to prove the poor results of conversion, it is stated that "during the first year of their residence in Mexico the friars were almost wholly occupied in learning the language." Again on page 169 a long quotation is given from the *Codice Franciscano* to prove that the early missionaries, whose work the author is inclined to discredit as far as possible, used force and that only by these means were the Indians made to attend Church and receive instruction. But on page 228, it is stated: "These people were not obliged to come. They were not driven to become Christians . . . yet they continued to come." Which of the two statements are we to believe?

But more fundamental is the unfounded accusation; so often repeated, against Bishop Zumarraga. In a serious and impartial study of the religious aspects of the conquest of Mexico it is to be expected that the author should avail himself of the most authoritative studies on his subject. But it has been a fad for the last fifty years to join the increasing chorus of critics of Catholicism in Mexico without stopping to inquire if the charges are justified. None of them is more unfounded or uncalled than that against Zumarraga. "The destruction of the temples", declares the author of the present work, "carried with it the destruction of many invaluable ancient writings of the Indians which would have made the work of the historian of ancient Mexico indefinitely easier than it is. But Archbishop Zumarraga . . . refused to allow the preservation of these ancient writings, and countless thousands of valuable codices were consigned to the

flames." After making this broad statement not a single authority is cited in its support. It is taken for granted, as so many other things. But it is the duty of the historian to dissipate errors of long standing or to affirm them if the facts prove them. What were the sources for this statement? Very likely the author read it in Bancroft, in Prescott, perhaps even in Clavijero, Mendieta, and Torquemada. But with the exception of the first two, the older works do not say that Zumarraga was responsible for the destruction of such manuscripts as may have been destroyed by the early missionaries, and all bear evidence to the fact that after the bishop's arrival in 1528, no such wholesale cremation of Mexican antiquities took place. Why did not the author consult the study of García Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumarraga,* recognized as the most authoritative? In one of the best essays on historical criticism, this masterful scholar of Mexico, recognized internationally as the best authority on sixteenth century Mexico and whose bibliography is a monument of painstaking research, refutes the baseless accusation against Zumarraga and traces it to its origin. Icazbalceta proves beyond all doubt that what manuscripts or codices existed were burned by the Tlascaltecans when they entered Tescoco with Cortez in 1520, as proved by Ixtlilxochitl himself. Consequently, Zumarraga could not have destroyed eight years later what was burned already. Before dismissing the question, a quotation cited by Icazbalceta from Clavijero is not amiss. Speaking of the destruction of codices and manuscripts so lamented by later historians and first charged to Zumarraga by Robertson in 1777 in his *History of America,* Clavijero declares: "Robertson exaggerates the ignorance of the conquistadors and the damages inflicted upon the historical monuments of the country by the superstition of the first missionaries . . . the historical paintings preserved by the efforts of the early missionaries are not few in number." And this statement from one of those who is most commonly cited to prove their destruction! It is to be deplored that Icazbalceta's study on this point was not consulted by the author of the present work as it might have changed or modified his conclusions.

A word should be said about the bibliography. In the preface it is declared that Clavijero was an Italian historian. This is an unpardonable error, for this Jesuit was born in Veracruz, was of Mexican parentage, received his education in Puebla, and lived in Mexico until the expulsion of the Jesuits, which order he had joined before he was twenty, and he wrote his *Historia antigua de Mexico* in Spanish before the expulsion. The work was, however, published first in Italy, in the Tuscan dialect, as the result of the expatriation, but this does not make Clavijero, one of Mexico's most distinguished men of letters, an Italian. Just recently, the well-known Mexican historian, Mariano Cuevas, S. J., secured the original

draft of the *Historia* that proves beyond a doubt that the work was originally written in Spanish while Clavijero was still in Mexico.

The same apparent disregard for a close study of the sources and authors cited appears throughout the book. This is particularly true of the last part, the most important, since it is here that the author gives his conclusions and supports them by citations and quotations from writers whose weight and authority is seriously to be doubted. "That there are numerous vestiges of the pagan cult in existence in Mexican Catholicism," declares the author, "practically every writer who has given any attention to the religion of the country asserts", and he proceeds to quote from a number of nineteenth century travelers to prove his contention. No historian will accept a traveler's opinion as proof in so serious a question, particularly when the author seems to have exercised little or no discretion in the selection of the travelers called upon to give testimony, or to examine their particular fitness to pass judgment on the question of the pagan elements in Catholicism in Mexico.

For example, one of those cited is Brantz Mayer, of whom the author says, "An interesting comparison of Mexican Catholicism with that of Europe, by an English writer who visited Mexico and wrote very informingly of many phases of its life, is that of Brantz Mayer." It happens that Brantz Mayer was not an English writer, for he was born in Baltimore, was partly educated at St. Mary's College of that city and, instead of having been an English traveler in Mexico, was secretary of the American legation there for a year. That he studied law by himself and that he had traveled previously in the Orient are not sufficient preparation to make him an authority on Mexican Catholicism, and his opinion emitted in 1844 is little more than that of any biased casual observer.

Another misleading quotation is the reference made to the work of E. B. Tylor on Mexico, of whom the author says: "He is known as a student and interpreter of the customs and practices of mankind, particularly primitive man." But he fails to point out that Tylor was born in 1832 in England, that in 1848 he was afflicted with consumption and forced to abandon his studies at the age of 16, that he worked in his father's manufacturing establishments until 1855, when he had to travel for his health and went over to the continent, that from there he went to Mexico, with no other preparation to interpret "the customs and practices of mankind", and that it was not until 1861 that he published his travelogue on Mexico, a book that went unnoticed, until in 1865 he published his first book on anthropology and became noted in this science thereafter. Therefore, his book on Mexico is not authoritative, nor is it ever cited along with his studies published later on anthropology.

Of other similar *authoritative* works cited to prove the conclusions that Mexico is pagan, that the Indian still offers sacrifice, that the saints are in

his eyes so many idols, and that the work of the early missionaries was a waste of time, the same thing can be said. Among them, those quoted more often are Sartorius, Latrobe, Winter, and Winton. Sartorius died in 1872 and no mention of him is made in any of the standard works of reference. He had no professional training to give weight to his opinions on Mexico. Winton is a Protestant minister and his judgment biased, his chief claim to being heard being that he has been lecturer on Latin-American History and Bible, a queer combination. Winter is a Methodist lawyer who has written voluminously and in a popular vein on the various countries of Latin America without being recognized by historians as an authority or a scholar in the field. His best-known works are a series of books with the serial title *Mexico and its People, Guatemala and its People, Brazil and its People*, etc.

With the growing interest in Latin America, its history, its social phenomena, its economic development and future, numerous books have been published recently on various phases of Latin American life. But it is to be regretted that so many have been written hurriedly, without proper discrimination, and based on long standing misconceptions and errors. The Latin American field is being discredited among serious students of American history as a result of this promiscuous publication of facts and prejudices, of history and romance, of veiled religious condemnation and sectarian propaganda.

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Latin-American Librarian,
University of Texas.

The People and Politics of Latin America. By Mary Wilhelmine Williams, Ph. D. (New York: Ginn & Co., 1930. Pages vii, 845.)

Doctor Williams has succeeded where many have failed, that is to say, she has produced a single-volume history in English of Latin America which is complete, reliable and readable, surpassing all other productions of its kind, and both those whose interest in the subject is purely academic and those who are motived by more practical considerations will find it of great assistance.

Naturally a Catholic reviewer is most interested in what is said about ecclesiastical matters. In discussing them, Doctor Williams maintains an attitude of scholarliness and fairness by no means common among non-Catholic writers on South America. Only here and there the reader comes across statements that might be amended. For instance: On page 232 we are told that in colonial Spanish America "the upper classes . . . showed much bigotry and superstitious devoutness, but little evidence of 'pure religion and undefiled', a state of affairs not to be wondered at in view of the demoralization of the clergy. The inhabitants of the Indies were sheep

without shepherds under conditions especially calling for moral and spiritual leaders." There were grave evils in the Church in Spanish America at that time, as we all know, but this judgment is a little too severe. Mixed in with the unworthy clergy were many excellent priests and bishops; and surely an organization that could produce Turibio and Rose must have contained numerous elements of good. On page 459: "When the news of [the Ley Juárez] reached the Pope, he pronounced a curse on Juárez". The phrasing is exaggerated and in poor taste. It sounds like an echo from some outmoded anti-Catholic writer of fifty years ago. On page 739: "If by any ill chance [girls of the better classes] failed to arrive in triumph at the matrimonial altar, they often snatched victory from defeat by renouncing the world, assuming the nun's veil, and becoming the brides of the Church". This may be nothing more than another of those amusing instances of the non-Catholic's inability to grasp the fact that by no means are convents refuges for those who have been disappointed in love. But since even some Catholics, especially in countries like the United States, do not understand the contemplative life, one can hardly blame non-Catholics for failing to do so.

The chapters on Latin American literature are well done. This is important, since the literary activity of that continent is scantily appreciated in this country outside the circles of specialists. An interest in the writing that has been produced since the early nineteenth century will naturally lead to an interest in that of the colonial era, and that in turn will do much to remove the notion that under Spanish and Portuguese rule Latin America was devoid of intellectual life. The same may be said of the treatment of the Fine Arts, except that the present reviewer would demur to the admiration of much of the present-day South American painting. One of the most distressing features of contemporary aesthetic activity in that continent is the readiness of artists to draw inspiration from the decadent schools of Europe. In this respect the recent Exposition in Baltimore gave pain to many who are trying to build up in the United States an appreciation of and admiration for our sister republics of this continent. Some of the "works of Art" there displayed were anything but creditable.

But these and similar blemishes are few and slight and are offset by the evident desire for fairness and accuracy.

The maps are numerous and excellent. The bibliographies to the respective chapters are well arranged and admirably adapted to the needs of the student. However, it might have been well, for the sake of those less experienced, to append a word of warning regarding Lea's *History of the Inquisition of Spain*. To the young student that work cannot be recommended unreservedly. And we did not come across mention of the following, which might have been included: *The European Background of*

American History: Cheyney; *La Influencia del Clero en la Independencia Argentina*: Piaggio; *Histoire de l'Amérique Espagnole*: Bertrand; *Bankers in Bolivia*: Marsh.

The treatment of the Masonic troubles in Brazil is a little misleading. By 1872 the Lodges had become definitely anti-Catholic; hence the opposition of the ecclesiastical authorities was perfectly reasonable. This whole subject needs to be properly presented to the English reader, who frequently fails utterly to comprehend the situation. It has been adquately treated in Portuguese but not in English.

EDWIN RYAN.

Catholic University of America.

A History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica, B. W. I. By FRANCIS C. DELANY, S.J. (New York: Jesuit Mission Press. 1930. Pp. 292. $2.50.)

Father Delany has achieved the purposes announced in the preface of his book. This history should keep fresh "the memory of the men and women, lay as well as clerical, who have contributed their services and in many cases their lives, to the spread of the Faith in the Island." By means of documents and notes gathered from far and wide Father Delany sketches the history of the Church in Spanish days, the conflicts with secular authorities, the fortunes of war, the ruin of Catholicism upon the conquest by Penn and Venables, the gradual granting of some degree of religious freedom. He chronicles the ravages of cholera, small-pox, and yellow fever, the ruin wrought by earthquake and hurricane; the rivalries, and the scandals, no less than the edifying incidents, of over four hundred years. The labors and activities of pioneers and leaders such as Benito Fernandez are given in detail. The work of the sisters, of missionaries, the sacrifices of clergy and lay folk are all recorded. Of special interest is the account of the struggle of the Catholic elementary schools for equality and the enjoyment of their rights. The appendix contains lists of the abbots of Jamaica, the vicars apostolic, superiors of the mission, deceased priests and religious. The attempt to do justice to all who have been active in the mission results at times in a series of disconnected biographical paragraphs. On the whole, Father Delany's work must fulfill its purpose admirably; moreover, it should stimulate interest in mission activity.

CHARLES H. METZGER, S. J.

John Carroll University.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Dr. Peter Guilday's exhaustive account of Recent Studies in American Catholic History, which was made a part of his report to the Association at its Boston meeting, is available in the May issue of the *Ecclesiastical Review.*

The Rev. Francis S. Betten, S.J., of Marquette University, a member of the executive council of the American Catholic Historical Association, whose comparison of the Tudor Queens appears in this issue of the REVIEW, has contributed to the first volume of the *Festschrift* of the Stella Matutina, Feldkirch, an enlightening essay on the relations between St. Boniface and King Ethelbald of Mercien (*Der heilige Bonifatius und König Ethelbald von Mercien*).

The Third International Congress of Christian Archeology, originally planned to be held at Carthage, has been organized by the Pontifical Archeological Institute. It is now proposed to hold the congress at Ravenna, Oct. 10-20 of this year.

No. 11 (February 1931) of the *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences is devoted principally to reports on the work being undertaken in the various countries in the fields of historical geography and historical iconography.

Vol. XXII, No. 2, of *Orientalia Christiana* is *Les versions Syriaque et Arménienne d'Évagre le Pontique,* by Irénée Hausherr, S.J.

The progress of Byzantine studies is surveyed by Louis Bréhier: *Histoire byzantine. Publications des années 1926-1930* (*Revue Historique,* CLXV, pp. 302-38).

Hymnes religieux du Moyen-Empire, by Sélim Hassan, is a recent publication of E. Leroux, Paris (pp. 200).

Her. Autbertus Stroick, O.F.M., has reprinted from the *Archivium Franciscanum Historicum* (vol. XXIII-XXIV, 1930-1931) his excellent study of the *Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiae* which Fr. Gilbert de Tournay, O.F.M., presented to the Council of Lyons in 1274. The manuscript itself is preceded by an essay on the author and the sources of the famous *Collectio.*

Algunos testimonios historicos sobre la Misa "Pro Populo" antes del Concilio de Trento, is a careful compilation by Dr. Javier Fernandez Alvarez, rector of the Seminary of Camagüey, Cuba (privately printed, pp. 25).

Tome IX, Part 2, of the *Historie des Conciles*, edited by the Rt. Rev. C. J. Hefele, bishop of Rottenbourg, and Cardinal Hergenröther, together with Part 1, concerns the Council of Trent, by Dr. P. Richard (Letouzey et Ané, Paris). This same firm also announces *Notre Dame de Lourdes*, by the first chaplains, Fathers Sempé and Duboé (pp. 320).

Under the auspices of the Mediaeval Academy of America, F. S. Crofts and Company have published a complete revision of the late Professor Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History*. This revision has been prepared by a committee of which Professor Dana C. Munro was chairman. The bibliography has been brought down to date and a valuable list of place names has been included.

Band X of the *Handbücher*, issued by Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, is entitled *Christliche Symbolik, der Mittelalterlichen Kunst*, by Wilhelm Molsdorf.

On November 17th last the Minister General of the Capuchin Friars Minor inaugurated at Assisi, the birthplace of the Franciscan Order, the Collegio S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, to house a body of Capuchin scholars who are to devote themselves to research work in Franciscan—and more particularly in Capuchin—history and literature. The new college at Assisi is to remedy the neglect of the past, by undertaking a vast work of research for historical documents, and by re-editing long forgotten works of Capuchin writers which are of real merit. At the same time the history and literature of the Franciscan Order in general is not to be passed over. The personnel of the College is to be drawn from the various provinces of the Order, and will be mostly men trained at the universities. The president of the college is Father Cuthbert, who until his appointment to Assisi was for twenty years principal of the Franciscan House of Studies in the University of Oxford. Amongst his co-workers are Father Felix M. Kirsch, of the Capuchin College at the Catholic University, Washington, who has joined the staff for the period of one year; Father Emidio d'Ascoli, of Bologna University, and Father Angelo Maria, of the Gregorian University, Rome. Four Capuchins at present studying for research degrees at Louvain and Munich, will join the college in October. Further the college will be assisted by collaborators in various provinces, who will not only contribute to the quarterly magazine published by the college, but will assist in the work of historical research and of editing the works of the Capuchin masters.

The first number of the quarterly magazine, *Collectanea Franciscana*, edited by Father Amedée Teetaert, lately professor at Louvain University, has already appeared and gives some indication of the scholarly work which it is the aim of the college to accomplish. Of the three chief articles, the first is a study of the Bonaventurean doctrine of the creation,

by Fr. Pius a Mondreganes; the second article by the well-known Jesuit, Fr. Tacchi-Venturi, gives an account of the part taken by Bittoria Colonna, the noble Humanist writer, in the defence of the nascent Capuchin Reform; the third article, by Fr. Burckhardt Mathis, deals with the influence of the reformed Camaldulese in the legislation of the early Capuchins. Of the short articles, or *Notae* as they are called, one by Dr. A. Landgraf, lately professor at the Catholic University of America, gives a list of the writings of Fr. Eustachius, O.F.M.; another by Fr. Hildebrand d'Hooglede discusses an interesting personality of the seventeenth century; while a third, by Fr. Chrysostom Schulte, discusses the literary quality of the celebrated Capuchin writer, Fr. Martin of Cochem. A valuable feature for students of things Franciscan is the section under the caption, *Bibliographia Franciscana,* in which no less than one hundred and thirty books and articles (published in 1929) are pithily and critically reviewed by Fr. Amedée Teetaert. Finally there is the *Chronica Franciscana* devoted to an outline of Franciscan events of the present time.

Pope Pius XI, in a private audience granted to the Minister General of the Capuchin Friars Minor, has expressed his satisfaction at the foundation of the college and the work it proposes to acomplish, declaring that its labors will contribute not only to the honor of the Franciscan Order, but to the good of the Church.

Les Franciscains, by Alexandre Masseron, has been added to the series, *Les Ordres Monastiques,* published by B. Grasset. This same house has also published *Origine et Evolution de la Religion,* translated from the German of W. Schmidt by the R. P. Lemonnyer.

Brouwer et Cie, Paris, announce a new series of *Études Carmélitaines, Mystiques et Missionnaires,* two volumes of about 250 pages each.

Dr. E. A. Beller reviews *Recent Studies on the Thirty Years' War* in the *Journal of Modern History,* III (March, 1931), pp. 72-83, and concludes that with so much new material another history of that struggle might well be written. Another bibliographical survey dealing with the same field is Prof. Johann Paul, *Gustav Adolf in der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung* (*Historische Vierteljahrsschrift,* XXV, pp. 415-29).

Recent literature in the field of economic history is admirably reviewed by Henri Sée, *Histoire économique et sociale* (1929-1930), (*Revue Historique,* CLXV, pp. 109-58), dealing with works on Europe and Asia; and by Vincenzo Porri, *La Storia economica europea, età medioevale e moderna: rassegna degli studi pubblicati fra il 1919 ed il 1929* (*Rivista storica italiana,* XLVII, pp. 135-54, 262-304, 408-33, to be continued).

L'Idée de Separation entre l'Église et l'État, by Joseph Lecler (*Études,* Dec. 20, 1930), is an article of special value. It traces the stages through which the original Catholic conception of the *distinction* of two functions

in a single society of Christendom has been replaced by the *separation* of two authorities in a society of manifold states. The appearance of Aristotle's *Politics in the West*, in 1260, emphasized the autonomous character of the State as a perfect society. This conception was synthesized with Catholic thought by St. Thomas, who insisted however on the essential primacy of the supernatural purpose of the Church as compared with the temporal end of the State. Complications arose when the French legists attempted to establish State absolutism on the pagan principles of Roman law. Ideas were further confused when the *de facto* absolutism was exploited in the name of the Reformation. It was the new phenomenon in Europe of a number of separate churches which led ultimately to the separation of Church and State, although at first the Reformation insisted not so much on separation as on the subordination of Church to State. The inevitable reaction gave birth to the theory of toleration, and this in turn to the idea of the lay State which is so much emphasized in Europe to-day. In America where, during the Revolution, toleration was rather a *modus vivendi* than a principle, the abstract principle of the lay state which ought to ignore religion has never been accepted. Even in Europe the extremists are at last realizing that the effort to regard the Catholic Church merely as an "association privée" is purely doctrinaire, and is doomed because of the irrepressible vitality of "l'idée religieuse" in all Western society.

Paul Sabatier's *Vie de Saint François d'Assise* is announced by Fishbacher, Paris.

La légende de Sainte Ursule dans la litterature et l'art du Moyen Age, by Guy de Schoutheete de Tervarent, in two volumes, is a recent publication of G. Van Oest, Paris.

Bloud et Gay, Paris, are the publishers of *L'Église Saint-Sulpice*, by Gaston Lemesle, S. S. (pp. 288, 172 illustrations).

L'Art Catholique, Paris, announces *Saint Yves de Bretagne*, by Yves de la Brière, S. J.

The Abbé G. Rivain has written *Saint Flocel, Martyr du Cotentin*, patron of youth, whose cult has extended especially to Canada and Argentina in the Western World (Lethielleux). From the same publisher comes *Vie de Saint Antoine de Padoue recontée à la jeunesse*, by R. P. Facchinotti, O. F. M. (pp. 160).

Cornélia Connelly, fondatrice de la Société du Holy Child Jesus (1809-1879), by a religious of the Order, is announced by Plon, Paris.

Schisme et Hérésie au diocèse de Pamiers is a recent work of J. M. Vidal (A. Picard, pp. 335).

Joseph Roserot de Melin, a former member of the École Française of Rome begins in the January–March (1931) issue of the *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* an exhaustive study of the establishment of Protestantism in France.

The March–April number of the *Revue Thomiste* is entirely devoted to Blessed Albert the Great, whose canonization and declaration as a Doctor of the Church is being petitioned for by many learned societies, universities and the hierarchy from all parts of the world. The number contains four parts, historical, philosophical, theological, and bibliographical. Of particular value is the bibliographical section by Fathers Laurent and Congar, O. P., entitled *Essai de Bibliographie Albertinienne*, pages 422-462, containing 583 items.

In contrast to some historians' attempts at a partial rehabilitation of the last Valois king, Gaston Dodu presents an interesting study and a scathing condemnation of him in an article entitled *Henri III* (*Revue Historique*, CLXV, pp. 1-42).

The fifth centenary of Jeanne d'Arc continues to inspire writings on various phases of the saint's life and works. Among several not heretofore mentioned are: *La vraye istoire de Jehanne la Pucelle* (5 vols.), and *Jehanne d'Arc, héroine du droit*, both by Pierre Garons (La Renaissance Universelle); *Le Message de Jeanne d'Arc*, by Paul Renaudin (Bloud et Gay); and *Paroles authentiques de Jeanne d'Arc tirees du prôces de 1431 et des chroniques contemporaines*, by André Mary (Edit. Roches).

The articles in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for April, are: L'orphisme et Saint Paul, by A. Faux; and Les scribes monastiques d'Irlande au travail, by L. Gougaud, O.S.B. The notes and miscellany include Un document de la controverse adoptianiste en Espagne vers l'an 800, contributed by D. de Bruyne, O.S.B.; and Le procès du Cardinal Louis de Lapalud, by León E. Halkin.

The April, 1931, issue of *Estudios Eclesiasticos* (vol. X, pp. 161-243) is devoted to Robert Bellarmine. Father Luis Teixidor, S.J., contributes an illuminating study of Bellarmine's writings on the origin of civil power.

Jean Pelt is the author of *Études sur la cathédrale de Metz d'après les registres capitulaires* (*1210-1790*), which is published by G. Ficker (pp. 470).

A noteworthy review of recent historical work on the Reformation period is that by Dr. Gustav Wolf in *Mitteilungen aus der historischen Literatur*, LV, 159 ff.; LVI, 16 ff.; LVII, 19 ff., 146 ff., 200 ff.

Father Stanislaus M. Hogan, O.P., writes a summary of the literature which has so far appeared on Therese Neumann, the stigmatic of

Konnersreuth, in the *Australasian Catholic Record* (vol. VIII, April, 1931, pp. 106-116).

Austria, too, has now at last published a very complete collection of documents from her archives bearing upon the foreign policy of the Dual Monarchy in the years that led up to the World War. It is entitled: "*Oesterreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914. Diplomatische Aktenstücke des Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Ministeriums des Aeussern.* (Selected by Ludwig Bittner, Alfred Francis Pribram, Heinrich Srbik, and Hans Uebersberger. Edited by Ludwig Bittner and Hans Uebersberger. Published by the Kommission für neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs. Vienna and Leipzig. Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1930), 8 vols."

Fascicle I of *Dissertationes Historicae* is *Geschichte des Prediger-Klosters St. Nicolai in Chur (1280-1538)*, by O. Vasella (J. Vrin, pp. 162).

An article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April, "Zwingli's Theory of Church and State," by R. N. Carew Hunt, summarizes Zwingli's life and the main points of his political theory. Zwingli, like most of the Reformers, deduced a false view of the State from his radical error concerning the Fall, and the Natural Law. "So far from being a law of natural reason, it has nothing natural about it. . . . It is only through divine revelation that it comes into effective operation, and it is the true believer alone who is capable of rightly apprehending it." However, "Zwingli pays little attention to those arguments from Scripture with which his contemporaries sought to justify whichever system commanded their adhesion." He argues that Monarchy is rationally the best, and historically, the worst form of government. If the monarch fails to promote the religion of the people, his power may be taken away by the people. However Zwingli's experience of men lessened his respect for popular rule. He tended in practice to concentrate power in the hands of a Council, using however the fiction that the Council was the delegate of the people. Theory was not unmodified by the fact that "like Luther, Zwingli was unable to introduce his reforms without the aid of the civil power." How little Zwingli believed in the separation of Church and State may be judged by expressions such as this: "Quid ergo . . . distante ecclesiae Christianae vita . . . a civitatis vita? Nihil penitus; nam utraque requirit quod altera." "One further consideration deserves attention. Wherever Protestantism came to attach to the Sacraments only a symbolic valne, the direction of Church policy tended increasingly to pass into the hands of the State." If the Sacraments are not channels of grace why should not excommunication be in the hands of the State?

Recent works on papal history include: *Le pontificat de León X*, by

E. Rodocanchi (Hachette); and *Les premières années du pontificat de León XIII (1878-1894)*, by R. R. Lecanuet (F. Alcan, pp. 630).

Nicholas Iung is the author of *Un Franciscain théologien au pouvoir pontifical au 14 siècle: Alvaro Pelayo, évêque et penitencier de Jean XXII* (J. Vrin, pp. 244).

The history of the *Scots College, Rome,* founded by Clement VIII, has been written by four of its alumni (Sands, pp. 128).

Monograph No. 4 of the History of Exeter Research Group, University College of the Southwest of England, is the *Medieval Council of Exeter* by Dr. B. Wilkinson, with an introduction by R. C. Easterling (pp. 105).

G. Constant, formerly a Fellow of the University of Liverpool and now Professor at the Institut Catholique of Paris, has begun the publication of a history of *La Réforme en Angleterre* (Tome I, *Le Schisme anglican, Henri VIII, 1509-47,* Paris, Perrin, 1930, pp. vi, 777, 50 frs.), which is very favorably reviewed.

The S. P. C. K. has published a scholarly work on *The Carthusian Order in England,* by E. Margaret Thompson. The work is the fruit of careful research. Part I deals with the origin and constitution of the Order. Part II gives an account of the English Carthusian houses beginning with the Charterhouse of Hinton founded in 1232, and dealing with Beauvale, Sheen, Coventry, Hull, Mount Grace and other establishments. Part III deals with the suppression. This part is written on the whole with sympathy.

Mary of Scotland (1561-1668), by Grant R. Francis (Murray) is a learned, but very sympathetic study of the unfortunate Queen.

The Church of England and Social Reform since 1854, by D. O. Wagner (Columbia University Press) gives much information concerning the Christian Socialists, the Working Men's College, Friendly Societies, Trade Unionism, and the Co-operative Movement in England. There is an effort made to disengage the various factors in the social background of the middle of the nineteenth century.

A Woman of the Tudor Age, by Lady Cecilie Goff (Murray) is a modernized edition of the account in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* of the Duchess of Suffolk who married her gentleman-usher, and took flight from England during the reign of Queen Mary. A great many facts of Tudor domestic life have been drawn from contemporary letters and the lady's household book.

Institutional Christianity in England, by J. Gordon Hayes, M. A. (Richards) is a work of no particular historical or theological value. The author attacks the Anglo-Catholic for being un-Christian, and the Low Church for being unsuccessful in the matter of church attendance.

A work on *The English Cardinals*, by G. C. Heseltine, is announced by Burns Oates and Washburne, Ltd.

The work of Orazio M. Premoli on the *History of the Church in the Twentieth Century* has now appeared in English (Burns Oates and Washburne). It covers the period 1900 to 1925.

In *L'Ami du Clergé* for March 26, 1931, there is a thoughtful article on the crisis in Great Britain, its character, its causes, and a suggestion for its cure. The analysis of the situation is mainly economic, but the deeper issues of civilization and religion are touched on. The writer, following Mr. Henry Somerville in his remarkable little book, *Britain's Economic Illness*, finds the cause of all this trouble in the "covetousness" of the Reformation period and in the policy of "enclosure". This policy in particular, and more in general British individualism and utilitarianism are traced back to the spirit which a once dominant Puritanism has impressed on English life. It is pointed out that no scheme such as a return to the Guilds, and no slogan such as the coöperation of all the classes will avail without a return to that Catholic mentality which formerly inspired both the coöperation and the Guilds.

The *Clergy Review* for May contains three articles of historical interest: A Bishop and his Diocese on the Eve of the Reformation, by the Rev. Philip Hughes, L. S. H.; The Doctor of Charity (St. Augustine), by the Rev. J. Cartmell, D. D., M. A.; and The Progress in the Martyrs' Cause, by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. P. E. Hallett, B. A. Father Hughes examines the contents of two registers of the Bishopric of Hereford, as throwing light on the mentality and religious conditions of the age which suffered the Reformation. He concludes that "the episcopal action is catholic throughout with the unconscious catholicism of those for whom the Faith and the Roman obedience are as much part of the scheme of things as the state or civilization itself." Doctor Cartmell discusses "certain main lines of Augustinian spirituality." Msgr. Hallet, who is the Vice-Postulator for the Cause of Blessed John Fisher and Thomas More, in his article on the Martyrs' Cause, sketches briefly the history of the Cause of the English Martyrs generally. He contrasts the quite extraordinary enthusiasm of earlier continental writers like Baronius or Bellarmine or Cornelius à Lapide with the apparent apathy to-day in England. "How are we to recapture this high enthusiasm and stir up a mighty wave of popular devotion which will carry on the cause triumphantly to a successful conclusion?" he asks. He suggests that devotion should be fostered rather to local groups and even individuals than to the group as a whole. In the same number of the *Clergy Review*, Father Hughes writes a discriminating review of Père Constant's *La Réforme en Angleterre*.

Historical articles in *Studies* for March concern: Cardinal Wolsey,

Educator, by T. Corcoran, S. J.; Beginnings of Latin Culture in Ireland, by Eoin MacNeill; Irish Bishops in Newfoundland, 1794-1893, by Rev. Dr. Patrick Browne; the American Catholic Historical Association, by James J. Walsh; and the Tragedy of Grand Chartreuse, by Virginia M. Crawford.

The *Analecta Hibernica* for January, 1931 (Irish MSS. Commission, No. 2, Dublin, 1931) contains a valuable account of the manuscripts of Irish interest in the British Museum (pp. 292-340), from the pen of the Deputy Keeper, Dr. Robin Fowler.

The Talbot Press has issued Denis Gwynn's *John Keogh: the Pioneer of Catholic Emancipation* (pp. 76).

Dr. John O'Fallon Delaney of St. Louis, the last survivor of the Indian expedition to Ft. Benton under Father De Smet in 1862, died December 9, 1930, aged 89.

The American Catholic Almanac and Year Book for 1931, issued by the States Publishing Company of Cincinnati (price 50 cents), and edited by the veteran Catholic journalist, Thomas P. Hart, Ph. D., is all that its publishers claim for it. It is intended as a handy book of reference and of useful information for Catholics and non-Catholics. Among its many features of interest is an episcopology of the present Catholic hierarchy of the United States. The *Year Book* deserves the widest circulation and no Catholic home should be without it.

The *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report* of the parish schools of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, issued by the Rev. Paul E. Campbell, superintendent, shows 228 schools with a total enrollment of 90,965, and employing 1905 teachers.

Father Joseph B. Code, of St. Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa, has added to his growing *Setoniana* a charming book entitled *A Daily Thought from the Writings of Mother Seton* (Emmitsburg, Md., 1931). The book is appropriately illustrated.

The Story of the Sisters of Mercy in Mississippi, 1860-1930, by Mother M. Bernard, in the words of Bishop Gerow's Introduction, "is not a story of merely extraordinary and exceptional episodes in the history of the Sisters of Mercy, but rather it gives a glimpse into the normal, the usual in the life of these devoted women" (New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, pp. 281).

The *Historical Bulletin* for May offers the following to teachers and students: Tsars and Synod, by Alfred Kaufmann, S. J.; Jesuit Martyrs of the Commune Uprising in Paris, April–May, 1871, by Leo A. Hogue, S. J.; Founders of International Law, by A. P. Madgett, S. J.; the Jesuit Relations, by Raymond Corrigan, S. J.; the Growing Importance of Eco-

nomic Thought and Its Relation to History, by Paul J. Murphy, S. J.; and Marucchi the Archaeologist, by Augustine C. Wand, S. J.

The recent number of the *Harvard Theological Review* contains studies on Ancient and Modern Christian Apologetics, by Professor George La Piana; Contributions of Martin Bucer to the Reformation, by Hastings Eells; and the Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius of Alexandria, by Robert P. Casey.

The April number of *Mid-America* contains an Account of Marquette Memorials throughout the country, by Mary C. Arth; Pottinger's Creek Settlement, Kentucky, 1785, by Henry S. Spalding; a sketch of Father Edmund Burke, first parish priest of Monroe City, Michigan, and later vicar-apostolic of Nova Scotia and titular bishop of Sion, by Rev. Dr. Patrick W. Browne; and Father Gilbert J. Garraghan's paper before the Association in 1929, on Old Vincennes, a Chapter in the Ecclesiastical History of the West.

A new Catholic weekly, *The Wanderer*, has lately made its appearance in St. Paul, Minnesota, under the editorship of Mr. Joseph Matt. Several articles of historical merit from the pen of Dr. Paul Gleis of the Catholic University of America deserve mention: "The real Joseph V. von Scheffel", "The Germans in 2000 Years of History", and "Ramblings in German Family Names and History".

For the April issue of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, Rufus K. Wyllys edits Padre Luis Vellarde's *Relación* of Pimería Alta, 1716; and Lansing B. Bloom edits an annotated translation, by the late Colonel Ralph E. Twitchell, of a document relating a Campaign against the Moqui Pueblos, under the leadership of Gov. Phelix Martinez, 1716.

The Texas Catholic Historical Society in its *Preliminary Studies* (Vol. I, No. VI) has published the *Solis Diary* of 1767, as translated by Rev. P. Forrestal, C.S.C., Litt. D., of St. Edward University, Austin, Texas. Vol. I, No. 7, is Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta's *Study of Education in the City of Mexico during the Sixteenth Century*, translated by the Rev. Dr. J. O'Donnell, C.S.C., and reprinted from Vol. XX of the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Society.

An opportunity is offered some Catholic individual or organization to save from destruction an old Spanish mission near St. Mary's, Georgia. The walls are still standing. There are four rooms and a hall in the interior. The people in the vicinity know it only as "the old sugar mill", to which purpose it was devoted by the English. Here is one of the most precious survivals of the missionaries in all the southeastern part of the United States. It is a monument to the patient, tireless labors of the Franciscans, and is eminently worth preserving.

BRIEF NOTICES

Acta Hebdomadae Augustinianae-Thomisticae ab Academia Romana Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Indictae. (Turin, Marietti, 1931, pp. 344.)

The fifteenth centenary of the death of Saint Augustine coinciding with the golden jubilee of the Roman Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas prompted that body to devote its sessions to a consideration of the relationship existing between Augustinian and Thomistic philosophy. The twelve papers contained in the *Acta*, contributed by such eminent philosophers as Card. Lepicier, Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P., M. Grabmann, and E. Gilson, to mention but a few, evidence a high standard of erudition and scholarship commensurate with their reputation, and are a worthy contribution to the literature of scholastic philosophy.

AIGRAIN, ABBÉ R., *Liturgia.* Encyclopedie Populaire des Connaissances Liturgiques. (Paris, Librarie Bloud et Gay, 1930, pp. xv, 1141.)

A rich and authoritative storehouse of liturgical knowledge. Compiled by scholars, the material is presented in simple enough fashion to be of use to the lay mind. Among the collaborators are such well known names as Cabrol, Gougaud, Grimaud, Lefebre, De Journel, Sablayrolles, and Vigué. The whole liturgical field is exhaustively covered, from general concepts to particular rites; and although in addition there is given a complete liturgical "Who's Who" and an exhaustive index, the size of the attractively bound volume is unbelievably small. This important contribution to the cause of the liturgical movement is eminently worthy of an English translation.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, *Proceedings.* Vol. 40, Part 1.

In addition to the transactions of the semi-annual meeting, April 16, 1930, the *Proceedings* contain the following papers: New England's Contributions to Virginia, by Lyon G. Tyler; Thomas Jefferson at Home, by Alexander McAdie; New-Found Letters of Josiah Gregg, Santa Fe Trader and Historian, with introduction and notes by John T. Lee; and a Contemporary British Account of General Sir William Howe's Military Operations in 1777, contributed by Robert F. Seybolt.

AMOS, SIR MAURICE, *The English Constitution.* (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1930, pp. xi, 195.)

One of the English Heritage Series, edited by Viscount Lee of Fareham and J. C. Squire, containing "a clear and concise account of the various political institutions which collectively constitute the English Constitution."

ANGOFF, CHARLES, *A Literary History of the American People.* Vols. I (1607-1750), II (1750-1815). (New York, Alfred A. Knoff, 1931, pp. 391, 400.)

These are the first two of a prospective four-volume history of the literature of the American people. The third volume will embrace the years 1815 to 1899, and the fourth, from 1899 to the present. "My aim," Mr. Angoff writes, "is to present a comprehensive literary history of the United States, to deal with every writer of any merit or influence whatsoever, to examine the changes

in the reading habits of the people, and to try to explain the phenomena encountered in as plausible, detailed and inclusive a manner as possible." Plausible, the two volumes under review may be; inclusive or even detailed, they are not. The author lacks the scholarship of Tyler, Richardson, Parrington, or even the authors of the *Cambridge History of American Literature*, as well as the literary charm of those in the same field, such as Barrett Wendell. Perhaps the key to Mr. Angoff's method and attitude is in the statement: "My indebedtedness to Mr. H. L. Mencken is very great." The actual value of the volumes lies in the copious extracts they contain.

BEARD, CHARLES A., *Toward Civilization*. (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1930, pp. vi, 307.)

A volume of sixteen chapters (without bibliography or index) contributed by leading technologists (edited by Mr. Beard) who "are not concerned with history but with prospects, with work in course." Transportation, Communication, Modern Industry, Engineering in Government, and Work and Leisure, are the principal sketches. The book has an excellent introduction to the present-day controversy over "the meaning and course of machine civilization."

BOYTON, NEIL, S.J., *The Blessed Friend of Youth*. With a Foreword by the Hon. Alfred E. Smith. (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1929, pp. 218, $2.00.)

This entertainingly written biography of Blessed Don Bosco makes a special appeal to young people. The book deals with the striking career of a "providential friend" of children who clearly saw the needs of youth in our own time and devised a system of education well suited to their temperament. To carry on his program he founded the Salesian Congregation. As a promoter of sports and physical training as well as a charming spiritual guide of youth, Don Bosco belongs to the category of saints that make an especial appeal to the young. His intensely interesting career is told in so pleasing a manner that the book reads more like a novel than a history of real life.

BRIAN CHANINOV, N., *A History of Russia, translated from the French by C. J. Hogarth*. (London, Toronto, and New York, the J. M. Dent and E. P, Dutton Companies, 1930, pp. xi, 295.)

If history ought to deal mainly with the picturesque, the lurid, and the erotic, without troubling itself greatly about research or accuracy; if the political, the economic, the social, and the intellectual evolution of a nation are much less important than the intimate lives of its rulers or the scandals of its court; if, for instance, the physiological details of Peter the Great's last illness deserve two pages and Napoleon's invasion of Russia only six lines; or if the Revolution of 1917 should interest us chiefly as an episode in the biography of Nicholas II—then this volume is excellent history.

CARMEN, HARRY J., Ph.D., *Social and Economic History of the United States*. Vol. I. (New York, D. C. Heath and Co., 1930, pp. xii, 616.)

The constant assaults of the "new historians" during the last quarter-century upon the so-called older school of historians have resulted in many significant tendencies in American historiography. Among other things, there has been a continued attempt to produce a better synthetic picture of Amer-

ican life. In the present volume, Professor Carman, in treating of the development of America "from handicraft to factory", gives less attention to political history than "to those social and economic factors which . . . constitute the warp and woof of our political life."

Well synthesized, this history can be used profitably by the college student or the general reader. There is an abundance of maps, charts and illustrations, a good index, and at the end of each chapter, a list of suggested readings that is most satisfactory.

CHESTERTON, G. K., *Come to Think of it.* (New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1931, pp. xiv, 272, $2.50.)

This volume contains forty-three essays from the *Illustrated London News* and are encyclopedic in their diversity, ranging from Birth Control to George V, and from Essays to Dictatorships. Written with all Mr. Chesterton's usual skill and acumen, the very cream of a series, they are thoroughly provocative and brilliant. Americans will be particularly interested in the incisive and thoughtful essays on America and on Lincoln, in which Mr. Chesterton shows again that he is more alive to the real America than are so many of the *litterati* who from time to time honor us with their presence.

D'ARCY, REV. M. C., S.J., M.A. (Oxon), *Thomas Aquinas.* (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1930, pp. ix, 292.)

A new biography, written for those outside the Catholic Church who are unfamiliar with the place the Angelic Doctor occupies in modern Catholic philosophical thought. Based upon the leading biographies in other languages, the aim is to present St. Thomas Aquinas as sympathetically as possible to present-day readers. There is a summary of his life (p. 277), of his works (pp. 278-279), a good bibliography, and an excellent index.

Festschrift fuer Georg Leidinger zum 60. Geburtstag am 30. Dezember. 1930. (Munich, Verlag Hugo Schmidt, 1930, pp. 324.)

A collection of thirty-eight articles offered to Dr. Leidinger, the Director of the Bavarian State Library. Dr. Behrend (University of Berlin) writes on German Pilgrimages to the Holy Land (1300-1600); the late Father Bernhard Duhr, S.J., contributes an article on the Latest Bibliography of the History of the Society of Jesus; Dr. Grabmann, the well-known Thomistic scholar, writes on two Latin codices in the Munich archives containing the work of the two unknown philosophers of its university; Dr. Rest of the University Library of Freiburg i/B writes on the Basle Missal of 1586; and Dr. Schottenloher of the Bavaria State Library contributes an attractive sketch of the Beginnings of Modern Bibliography. The *Festschrift* is sumptuously illustrated.

GRAHAM, JOHN E., *Church History by Non-Catholic Historians.* (Baltimore, The Norman Publishing Co., 1930, pp. 387.)

A capable and useful analysis of the mental attitude of numerous historians whose works, largely because of their literary worth, have a prestige not altogether justified by their content. Among those discussed are Gibbon, Carlyle, Macauley, Hallam, Taine, Guizot, Bancroft, Prescott and von Ranke. Such men will always be quotable and quoted and this volume will be of much service as indicating their limitations.

GRETTON, R. H., *A Modern History of the English People, 1880-1922.* (New York, Lincoln Macveagh, 1930, pp. 1184.)

This book is really a masterpiece. It is history not as the historian sees it from manuscripts, biographies, monographs, and the entire mass of historical apparatus, but as it seemed at the time it happened to ordinary people. At least to this reviewer, in the period which he remembers, it is remarkably like the way things seemed to him. It is a history of the people and the people get their fair share, for popular songs and fads get almost as much space, at times, as an election; and no wise man can criticize. It is really fascinating reading and it will not be surprised if the historians who first go to it for facts frequently return for recreation. There is no lack of either.

HARTRIDGE, R. A. R., *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages.* (Cambridge, University Press, 1930, pp. x, 272.)

With the spread of monachism, especially in the later Middle Ages, the custom developed of appropriating churches, their lands, tithes and other revenues, to the monasteries for their support. This was frequently done by bishops and lay patrons who acquired an easy reputation for generosity by giving valuable gifts which cost them nothing. However the churches thus appropriated must be served and some provision made for the spiritual care of the faithful dependent thereon. Such provision was made by establishing vicarages. The vicar was the substitute of the rector, in such cases an absentee abbey or cathedral and even in too many cases a layman for the laity speedily developed a desire for ecclesiastical wealth. Dr. Hartridge has made a magnificent study of the growth of this system by which so much land and wealth was transferred from the parishes to the abbeys and thence, upon their spoliation, to great families. It is a matter of supreme economic importance. While especial emphasis has been given to England, other European countries have not been slighted. This is indeed a splendid contribution to the Cambridge *Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* and is provided with an exhaustive bibliography and a model index.

HELBING, ALBERT THEODORE, Ph.D., Associate in Economics, University of Illinois, *The Departments of the American Federation of Labor.* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XLIX, No. 1. (Baltimore, the University Press, 1931, pp. 137.)

Students of labor unions will welcome this monograph. The chapters deal with the Building Trades, Metal Trades, Railway Employees, Union Label Trades, and Mining departments of the American Federation of Labor.

HEWINS, W. A. S., *The Royal Saints of Britain from the Latter Days of the Roman Empire.* (London, Privately Printed at the Chiswick Press, pp. 70.)

This beautifully printed folio is an elenchus of the saints of the various British Royal Houses from the days of Carausius and Constantius Chlorus to those of Mary Stuart, showing the genealogical connections and their relation to the early history of Britain and the later Roman emperors. There is also an attempt to locate the grain of truth which the author believes lies at the root of most of the old legends and traditions of British royalty and its connection both with the Roman imperial and Judean royal families. Much

speculation and supposition is to be expected, yet the thesis does not seem to lack plausibility. There are also interesting comments in regard to the Glastonbury legends. Perhaps the most remarkable feature is the genealogical table of the royal saints (more than one hundred of whom are listed) which covers nine folios. It is remarkably complete and detailed. We must note an important omission on page 13. Here the marriage of St. Edith to Ealhberg should be noted and their son Saint Edmund King and Martyr, in whose honor the famous abbey of Bury Saint Edmunds arose.

HOFFMANN, M. M., *Antique Dubuque 1673-1833.* (Dubuque, Telegraph-Herald Press, 1930, pp. x, 219.)

The eastern portion of Iowa surrounding the present city of Dubuque was the most important center of activity between Prairie du Chien and St. Louis, and one of the most important in the whole Northwest before that country was opened to white settlement. This interesting work deals with the history of that part of the Northwest from the time of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition to the opening of eastern Iowa to white settlers in 1833. The region is rich in legends, romance, and history, and it is a rather singular feat that Father Hoffmann has accomplished in writing a strictly historical account without excluding the charm lent by romance. The book is thoroughly documented, much of it from sources here brought to light for the first time. Good maps and interesting illustrations are included. (F. A. MULLIN)

JUGIE, MARTIN, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium.* Tomus III: *Theologiae Dogmaticae Graeco-Russorum Exposito de Sacramentis seu Mysteriis.* (Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1930, pp. 510.)

That there was a real need for just such a work as this requires no further proof than the Letter of the Congregation of Seminaries and Studies (August 28th, 1929). With the purpose of making effective the provisions of the Encyclical, *Rerum Orientalium* (September 8th, 1928), the Congregation, in this letter, decreed that special attention should henceforward be given in theological schools to questions relating to the Eastern Churches and Eastern peoples. Detailed instructions were given regarding the nature and scope of these courses. In this volume on the Sacraments, Pere Jugie gives a brief account of the history of the doctrine of the Sacraments in the Eastern Church, which makes clear the extent of the dependence of the Eastern theologians on the teachings of the Western Church. It also demonstrates that, while some Eastern theologians were unwilling to admit the extent of this dependence, they are, in essentials, thoroughly in accord with the teachings of the Catholic Church. The method followed by the author will make the study of "Eastern Theology" comparatively easy for students who are familiar with Catholic text-books. Apart entirely from its theological value such a work as this, in view of the present condition of the Eastern Churches, has tremendous apologetic significance. (PATRICK J. HEALY.)

KENNEDY, WILLIAM H. J., Ph. D., and Sister MARY JOSEPH, Ph. D., *Student's Workbook in Old World History.* (New York, Benziger Bros., 1931, pp. 133, $.54; to schools $.40.)

This notebook contains exercises and aids to accompany the authors' *Old*

World Foundations of the United States. New-type tests are employed in many of the exercises, and map work has not been overlooked. The same authors have also published a *Key* to the *Workbook* (pp. 133).

KIRKPATRICK, F. A., M. A., *A History of the Argentine Republic.* With an Introduction by Harold Temperley, Litt. D., F. B. A. (Cambridge, University Press, 1931; New York, The Macmillan Company, $5.00.)

The writer has compressed into two hundred and fifty pages an excellent summary of Argentine history, at least of the political aspects of that history. The social and economic phases are not emphasized and there is practically nothing on the ecclesiastical. But within its limits the treatment is adequate. By an unfortunate misprint (page 138) the recognition of Uruguayan independence is post-dated about thirty years. Otherwise the format of the volume is admirable. The tone of the introduction and the facts that the work appeared simultaneously with the British Empire Trade Exhibition in Buenos Aires, was advertised in English-language newspaper in that city on the occasion, and is dedicated to the Prince of Wales, tend to arouse a feeling that it is "propaganda"; the text, however, though written largely from the English point of view, does not sustain the suspicion. (EDWIN RYAN.)

KOHN, HANS, *A History of Nationalism in the East.* Translated by Margaret Green. (London, Routledge, 1929, pp. x, 476.)

This extremely interesting, well informed, and well written book may be, to the general reader, rather a revelation as to the extent to which the World War, Bolshevism, and a new nationalism have stirred up the East, from Turkey to India. The Far East is left out of the survey. Particularly worth notice are the chapters on Reform and Renaissance in Islam, Pan-Islamism, the Russian Revolution and the Orient, and the Awakening of India.

LATTEY, C. (Ed.), *Six Sacraments.* (London, Sheed and Ward; St. Louis, B. Herder Book Co., 1930, pp. 294.)

These papers, which were read at the Cambridge Summer School for 1929, treat of the sacraments in general and all the sacraments save the Eucharist (treated in a previous volume) in particular. It is sufficient recommendation to say that the papers are not inferior to their predecessors. Historians will be most interested in the section devoted to Anglican Orders in Dr. Grimley's capable paper on the Sacrament of Orders.

LODGE, Sir RICHARD, M. A., LL. D., Litt. D., President of the Royal Historical Society, etc., Editor, *Private Correspondence of Chesterfield and Newcastle, 1744-46.* (London, Royal Historical Society, 1930, pp. xlv, 155.)

Only the initiated will know that this is Vol. XLIV of the Society's Camden Series, since there is nothing to indicate it save the volume number on the backbone of the book and the monograph "CS" on the outside of the cover. The importance of these letters to a better understanding of European history for the period they cover is shown by the learned editor in his very incisive introduction. And it was an important period in English diplomacy which then was involved in disputes with Spain and France over questions arising from three overlapping wars. America was indirectly, Cape Breton directly, concerned. Chesterfield was at the Hague from February to May,

1745, and at Dublin from the following August. He and Newcastle were destined to be colleagues in the office of the Secretary of State; of the two the latter's letters are more informative though less brilliant.

LOWE, E. A., *Regula S. Benedicti, Specimina Selecta e Codice Antiquissimo Oxoniense.* (Oxonii, E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1929, pp. 15, plates 5.)

In this study of the Bodleian MS. Hatton 48, Professor Lowe offers a paleographical treatise on this very ancient copy of the Rule of St. Benedict, in fact, the oldest copy of the rule that now exists. In the work, he deals with the size, composition, writing, punctuation, abbreviation, syllabification, spelling, ornamentation, corrections and editions as well as errors of the Hatton manuscript. He concludes with a consideration of the date and origin of the piece with some brief observations regarding its history. The manuscript is the oldest Oxford manuscript of English provenance, taking its place among the oldest productions of English *scriptoria*. The fact is worthy of note that it is written in uncial characters, a thing uncommon to England. The five plates are beautiful reproductions of the original. (G. B. STRATEMEIER, O.P.)

MACDONALD, A. J., *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine.* (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1930, pp. xii, 444, 21/—.)

Students of the intellectual history of the Middle Ages, particularly of the doctrinal phases of that history, will find much of interest in Dr. MacDonald's book on Berengar. The eleventh century teacher of Tours for the first time receives in English the full treatment he deserves. He was an important figure in an important controversy, of which, however, he was not the innovator. Philosophically there was division in the ranks of the learned before Berengar and for centuries after him on the question of the Eucharist. Dr. MacDonald looks backward to St. Augustine of Hippo for the origin of Berengar's views, and forward to the reformers of the sixteenth century. While Catholicism was defining its doctrine of the Royal Presence, he believes, the later Reformation views of the nature of the Eucharist also were germinating. Thus, the doctrines of the Reformers receive not only an antiquity, but also respectability. One may doubt, however, whether St. Augustine would recognize his Eucharistic views in their writings and teachings. On the whole, one feels that the author is making a special effort to set the world right with respect both to Berengar and the treatment he received and to the history of Eucharistic doctrine.

MACKINNON, JAMES, *Luther and the Reformation*, Vol. III, *Progress of the Movement* (1521-9), Vol. IV, *Vindication of the Movement* (1530-46). (London, Longmans, 1929, 1930.)

If the notable biography just terminated offers little in the way of new conceptions, it is a detailed and painstaking attempt to synthesize the results of the enormous mass of studies on Luther that have appeared, particularly in the last twenty years. As a guide to the present state of research on any problem in this field, the work is distinctly useful. Professor Mackinnon writes from the standpoint of a Protestant and a warm admirer of Luther, but with a constant effort to be objective, judicious, and fair.

MELANÇON, Rev. J. M., *Life of Mother Marie Rose.* (Montreal, 1930, pp. 95.)

Written to make known briefly the life story of Mother Marie Rose (Eulalie Mélanie Durocher), the foundress of the community of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, the cause of whose beatification was introduced at Rome in 1927.

MOORE, W. G., *La Réforme allemande et la littérature française. Recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France.* (Strasbourg, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, fasc. 52, 1930, pp. 414, 50 frs.)

This study makes a serious contribution both to our knowledge of the diffusion and influence of Luther's works in France down to the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, and to the history of French Protestantism before Calvin.

MOURRET, FERNAND, S. S., *History of the Catholic Church.* Volume V: Period of the Renaissance and Reformation. Translated by Rev. Newton Thompson, S.T.D. (St. Louis, B. Herder Book Co., 1930, pp. xiv, 706. $4.00.)

Dr. Thompson has produced a capable and much needed translation of Mourret's standard history of the Church which he has further improved by adding a bibliography of the works cited. The value of Mourret as a balanced comprehensive and sufficiently detailed history is well known. The translator has wisely commenced with volume five which, from its intrinsic interest, will best serve to introduce it to English readers. The remaining nine volumes, which will be eagerly awaited, are to follow in due course.

MULVIHILL, M. J., Sr., *Vicksburg and Warren County, Mississippi.* (Privately printed, 1931, pp. 80.)

This is a compilation of letters, accounts, etc., relating to the Tunica Indians, Quebec missionaries, and the Civil War. Of Catholic interest are notes on Fort St. Peter, Quebec seminaries and missionaries, the first mission among the Tunica Indians, the Relations of Frs. Dominic Thaumur de la Source and de Montigny, and information concerning Frs. Davion and St. Cosme.

NEWMAN, E. W. POLSON, *Britain and the Baltic.* (London, Methuen, 1930, pp. ix, 275.)

This volume surveys the new republics of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, with special emphasis on the questions of Wilno, the Polish Corridor, and the proper orientation of British policy in this region. Major Newman writes on the basis of observations made during two journeys to the Baltic area, without attempting to go very deeply into the history and character of the nations considered. Nevertheless, one will find here an excellent picture of the remarkable progress made by the new Baltic states since the World War and an unusually clear and impartial discussion of some of the thorniest problems that post-war Europe presents.

PETRIE, Sir CHARLES, *The Story of Government.* (Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1929, pp. 329, $3.50.)

Perhaps it is as well that President Wilson died when he did. The world he strove to make safe for democracy seems to be doing its utmost to repudiate

his guidance, for its tendency is away from democracy and towards a strong executive. For this reason, Sir Charles Petrie's book will be most welcome. It is splendidly written and entirely objective. He has no theory to propound, no solution to offer, at least he offers none, for the present political confusion. He is concerned merely with facts, the story of government, and their interpretation. We would commend to our readers and their thoughtful attention the chapter on America. In view of the present tendency towards centralisation, the author's evaluation of the rôle played by states rights in the preservation of democracy in the United States is of great value. The analysis of present tendencies in Latin America is pointed and, we believe, not without sound bases.

PISANI, P., *The Congregations of Priests from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. A free translation by Mother Mary Reginald, O.P. Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge XIV. (London, Sands and Company, 1930, pp. 195, $1.35.)

This volume is a popular treatise on the clerical institutes from the sixteenth century to the French Revolution. In brief outlines are given the lives of their founders, the work of the religious congregations and some data regarding their outstanding members. Aiming at providing a knowledge of these priestly congregations, it achieves a worthy object though this purpose is partially defeated by a number of errors, not only typographical, which are to be found in its pages. Among others, the following might be noted as more conspicuous: page 24, Robert Bellarmine was not beatified at the same time that Peter Canisius was canonized; page 38, Bellarmine at the present writing is not a Doctor of the Church; page 54 (last paragraph), read Benedict XV for Pius X; page 60 (middle), read Paul V for St. Pius V; page 61 (middle), read Paul V for Paul III. In a later edition, the work will bear correction. (G. B. STRATEMEIER, O.P.)

RIEGEL, ROBERT E., *America Moves West*. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1930, pp. xi, 595.)

The westward expansion of the United States has formed the subject-matter for many volumes by historians, sociologists, and philosophers. Consequently, in the present work, Mr. Riegel has been content to tread the well-worn paths, and although he has done no original research nor contributed any new material to our Western literature, he has envisaged it from a new and interesting viewpoint, and produced a capable and engaging volume. A facile and sympathetic pen narrates the story of frontier life and times, and their gradual disappearance as the political, social, and economic life of the nation slowly developed. The earlier chapters of this book give a comprehensive view of the development of the West, its causes, and the problems that resulted from changes in government, modes of transportation, etc. Other chapters treat of nearly every aspect of frontier life: the Indian problem, fur-trading, road-building, steamboat traffic, railroads, religious revivals, the gold rush of '49, general conditions in the settling of new states, bringing the story down to the last stand of the "Wild West" in the rodeos and the movies. The book should appeal to those readers who are interested in American history, and will be advantageous as supplementary reading for history classes. (W. S.)

SANFORD, EVA M., Translator, *On the Government of God.* Edited by Salvian. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. viii, 241, $3.75.)

A faithful and scholarly rendition of the burning diatribe of this fifth-century Father of the Church, "wherein are shown by argument and examples drawn from the abandoned society of the times the ways of God toward His creatures". The copious footnotes, comprehensive bibliography and index, and attractive format by no means lessen the inherent value, and even the timeliness of Salvian's treatise.

SCOTT, ARTHUR P., of the University of Chicago, *Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia.* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, pp. ix, 329, $4.00.)

Legal history is a growing interest among American students. The American Historical Association has devoted sessions of recent meetings to its discussion, courses on the subject are increasing in our universities, titles of studies in the field are appearing more frequently in periodical indexes, more substantial essays and monographs have appeared. Professor Scott's splendid volume is a recent evidence of the value of including in the study of colonial development and expansion some consideration of the legal inheritance and of the changing forms of that legacy due to its administration under new conditions and by varying types of settlers. Part I of this study for Virginia discusses the sources of Virginia law; Part II, law enforcement and criminal procedure; Part III, the criminal law. An unusually good bibliography and a fair index complete the volume. Chapter X, dealing with offenses against religion and the Established Church, will be especially welcomed by the Church historian.

SCOTT, MARTIN J., S.J., *Isaac Jogues Missioner and Martyr.* (New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1927, pp. xii, 233.)

This revised edition of Father Scott's fascinating history of St. Isaac Jogues must have a persistent appeal to those interested in the acts of the Servants of God who have illustrated the holiness of the Church in our own land. Based on reliable sources as indicated at the close of the volume, this book can be regarded as a faithful account of the martyred missionary. The recital of the deeds of America's heroes of the faith must necessarily make the reader realize very forcibly that there is an American Martyrology that has not received its due attention from historieal scholars. The canonization of these Confessors of the Faith as well as the processes before the Congregation of Rites touching other American Causes of possible eventual beatification and canonization will no doubt carry the conviction that the sanctity of the Church is witnessed to in our very midst. (G. B. STRATEMEIER, O.P.)

STRACHEY, RAY, *Struggle: the Stirring Story of Woman's Advance in England.* (New York, Duffield and Company, 1930, pp. 429.)

The sub-title reads: "A record of the changes brought about by Mary Wollstonecraft, Nancy Astor, Florence Nightingale, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, the famous Mrs. Norton, and others." The contents run from "The Prison House of Home" to "The Death of Mrs. Grundy". There are many interesting illustrations, a short bibliographical note, and an index.

WAGNER, DONALD O., *The Church of England and Social Reform Since 1854*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. 341, $5.25.)

The nineteenth century saw in Great Britain the most highly industrialized nation in the world. But unfortunately, it saw also a spirit of individualism which permeated every department of thought and activity and resulted in a policy of laissez-faire in social and economic matters. Gradually, however, the course of social thought changed, but in the beginning the Church of England had a very minor part in the readjustment of society. In this volume, Dr. Wagner has stated the position of the Church of England with regard to some of the typical problems of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. From the early Christian Socialism of Maurice and Kingsley to the modern social movement in the Church, however, it is noticeable that the social reforms have been motivated not so much by the Church as a body, but by individuals and groups. This is due, perhaps, to the fact that the Church as a whole is still unable to agree as to what Anglican doctrine demands in the way of social action. The history of the various reform organizations is given; the attitude and activities of the churchmen in industrial crises are also treated, with special reference to the agricultural laborers' movements in the '70s, the dock strike of 1889, the coal strike of 1892, and the general strike of 1926.

WILLARD, JAMES F., and GOODYKOONTZ, COLIN B., Editors, *The Trans-Mississippi West*. (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1930, pp. xi, 366, $2.00.)

This volume is a compilation of sixteen papers presented at a conference on the history of the Trans-Mississippi West held at the University of Colorado in June, 1929. Professor Bolton's interpretation of Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands, and Father Garraghan's account of Nicolas Point, Jesuit Missionary in Montana of the Forties, both of which have appeared as separates, have already been noted in these pages. Professor Goodykoontz, in his paper on Protestant Home Missions and Education, 1835-1860, turns aside for three pages to show a sympathetic understanding of Catholic efforts in behalf of education. Three of the papers concern western missions, three western transportation, three treat of the West in American literature, and six were open to round table discussion. This volume contributes much to an understanding of the facts that made the frontier so influential in the directing of American affairs.

WINSLOW, C. I., Associate Professor of Political Science, Goucher College, *State Legislative Committees: a Study in Procedure*. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XLIX, No. 2. (Baltimore, the University Press, 1931, pp. 158.)

This treatise shows the important rôle played in state legislation by committees. An introductory chapter discusses the rules and composition of committees in all the states. The remaining chapters concern the organization, procedure, control, and work of committees in the legislatures of Maryland and Pennsylvania, which states were selected for especial study. The final chapter attempts to apply certain tests which would seem to indicate the effectiveness of the system.

ZWEIG, STEFNA, *Joseph Fouché. The Portrait of a Politician.* (New York, The Viking Press, 1930, pp. xviii, 327.)

This is the biography of a thoroughly amoral personality whom the author characterizes as "one of the most remarkable men of all time" and "the most perfect Machiavel of modern times". From his birth in 1759 in Nantes until his death in 1820 in Trieste, Joseph Fouché had a strange, adventurous career, one that scaled the heights and plumbed the depths. A tonsured cleric, seemingly content to spend his days as a schoolmaster, he abandons both for membership in the national convention of France. His unfailing want of principle leads him to abandon in turn the Revolution, the Directory, the Consulate, the Empire, and the Monarchy. The clerical schoolmaster of 1790 had become by 1792 the despoiler of the Church and the enemy of Christianity, and by 1793, was as fierce an opponent of private property as any modern bolshevist. Yet five years later he was a multimillionaire, and ten years after that the Duke of Otranto, whose second marriage to a member of the old nobility was celebrated in a church under a king's patronage. Yet Fouché died in obscurity, abandoned finally as completely and pitilessly as ever he had abandoned a friend or a cause.

The style and method of the new biography make this book interesting reading, but suggestions and interpolations cannot fill the gap caused by lack of documentary evidence. Fouché still remains an enigma, a figure in the background, dwarfed and over-shadowed even in these pages as he was in life by Napoleon, Robespierre, and Talleyrand. (W. S.)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

The New Conception of History. W. A. Hirst (*Dublin Review*, April).

Influence of Roman Law on International Relations. M. F. X. Millar, S. J. (*Thought*, June).

La "conversion" de Constantin. Henri Grégoire (*Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, December-January).

The Bestiary. M. R. James (*History*, April). Medieval notions of natural history.

Protestantismus und politische Ideengeschichte. H. Holborn (*Historische Zeitschrift*, band 144, heft 1).

L'histoire religieuse d'il y a cent ans, I. Pierre de la Gorce (*Correspondant*, May).

Pope Clement XI (1700-1721). Bishop Shahan (*Catholic World*, May).

The Upper Church of the Apostles in Jerusalem and the Lateran Sarcophagus, No. 174. E. Power, S. J. (*Biblica*, XII, fasc. 2).

Le Judaisme à Rome aux premiers temps de l'Église. J. B. Frey (*Biblica*, XII, fasc. 2).

The Bridge of St. Benezet. P. W. Browne (*Magnificat*, May).

North Africa in the Middle Ages. E. W. Bovill (*Journal of the African Society*, April).

Monotheism in West Africa. A. D. Frenay, O. P. (*Salesianum*, April).

Religion in Soviet Russia. C. B. Hoover (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April).

A Comparison of the Course of Catholicism in Canada and in Mexico. C. N. Bartlett (*Review and Expositor*, April).

Antonio de Espejo as a Familiar of the Mexican Inquisition, 1572-1578. G. R. G. Conway (*New Mexico Historical Review*, January).

Trekking to the Shrine of Guadalupe. T. A. Ediger (*Pan-American Magazine*, May). Centenary of the vision.

EUROPEAN

La iglesia propia durante la reconquista española. Ramón Vidagor (*Razón y Fe*, May).

Felipe II y el arte. P. J. Zarco (*Religion y Cultura*, May).

Father Persons, S. J., and the Seminaries in Spain (continued). Leo Hicks (*Month*, March, May).

Church and State in France. (*Round Table*, March.)

A Saint in the Dark Ages. D. W. Lowis (*London Quarterly Review*, April). Rathier.

Saint Vincent de Paul au secours des provinces désolées, III. P. Coste (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January).

The Greatest Saint in France. Louis Foley (*American Church Monthly*, June). St. Martin.

Notes at Avignon. Ymal O. Wilson (*Dublin Review*, April).

For the Quincentenary of St. Joan. Barbara B. Carter (*Dublin Review*, April).

St. Joan and the Dominicans. Barbara B. Carter (*Blackfriars*, May).

L'établissement du Protestantisme en France; origines aux guerres de religion, I. J. R. de Melin (*Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, January-March).

Lollard Incidents in the Reign of Henry VI. H. P. Palmer (*Holborn Review*, April).

Diplômes Carolingiens de l'Abbaye de Beaulieu. J. de Font-Réaulx (*Moyen Age*, January-March).

Napoleon and Pius VII: an Unrecorded Chapter. Helen White (*Blackwood's*, March).

Le Cardinal Charost. J. Schyrgens (*Revue Générale*, March).

The Faith of a Commander. Paul Doncoeur (*Atlantic*, April). What religion meant to Marshal Foch.

Catholicisme et élites intellectuelles dans l'Allemagne et la France d'après guerre. Robert d'Harcourt (*Correspondant*, May).

Ozanam et les idées politiques et sociales de 1848. Georges Goyau (*Correspondant*, April 25).

Roman Catholic Rural Organization in Belgium. Henri Anet (*International Review of Missions*, April).

E obispo Prohászka y el resurgimiento católico de Hungría. S. M. Granero (*Razón y Fe*, May).

Zwingli's Theory of Church and State. R. N. Carew Hunt (*Church Quarterly Review*, April).

Some Aspects of the Polish Reformation. Konrad Górski (*Slavonic Review*, March).

St. Peter in Rome. Charles O'Hare (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, April).

Cardinal Consalvi (concluded). P. S. Cleary (*Truth*, April).

The Roman Confutation of the Augsburg Confession in Its Original and Final Forms. T. G. Tappert (*Lutheran Church Quarterly*, April).

La conciliazione delle razze e le missioni cattoliche. Giovanni Thauren, S. V. D. (*Il Pensiero Missionario*, March).

Saint Thomas and Albert the Great. Cajetan Reilly, O. P. (*Dominicana*, March).

BRITISH EMPIRE

A New Chapter in the Life of B. Robert Southwell, S. J. C. A. Newdigate (*Month*, March).

Thomas Wolsey. J. W. Bell (*Holborn Review*, April).

Hugh Latimer, Bishop and Doctor, Social Prophet of the Sixteenth Century. H. H. Lumpkin (*Anglican Theological Review*, April).

The Significance of the Maltese Controversy. J. W. Poynter (*National Review*, May). Pro-British conclusions.

Sir Hugh Kennedy: Joan of Arc's Scottish Captain. J. L. Geddie (*Chambers's Journal*, May).

Music in Celtic Monasteries. L. Gougaud, O. S. B. (*Pax*, June).

The Bible in Ireland, IX. E. J. Quigley (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, March).

Our Catholic Schools in 1731. T. Corcoran, S. J. (*Irish Monthly*, April).

Legal Repressions of Catholic Education, 1740-1760. T. Corcoran, S. J. (*Irish Monthly*, May).

Les Jésuites au Canada apres la suppression de Companie de Jésus. (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, December).

Father John McKenna: a Loyalist Catholic Priest. Peter Guilday (*Catholic World*, April).

UNITED STATES

The Popes and the United States. Peter Guilday (*Commonweal*, March 25).

The First American Mint. A. S. Aiton and B. W. Wheeler (*Hispanic-American Historical Review*, May). Established 1536 in Mexico City.

Salamanca and the Beginnings of the Church in Florida. P. W. Browne (*Ecclesiastical Review*, June).

The Cradle of a Nation. A. A. Mercery (*Columbia*, February). Vincennes.

The Foresight of Maryland's Founders. John La Farge, S. J. (*America*, March 21).

German Catholic Soldiers and Their Chaplain in the Revolutionary War. J. M. Lenhart, O. M. Cap. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, April).

His Record is a Proud One. Joseph Gurn (*Columbia*, April). Edmund B. O'Callaghan.

Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia from 1760 to 1860. L. P. Jackson (*Journal of Negro History*, April).

The Biblical Anti-Slavery Argument of the Decade, 1830-1840. Caroline L. Shanks (*Journal of Negro History*, April).

The Exploration of New England by the French. H. P. Biggar (*Landmark*, April).

The Friars' Claims Case. Philip Reilly, O. P. (*Dominicana*, March).

History of St. Francis Seminary, VII. P. L. Johnson (*Salesianum*, April).

Our Lady's Bishop. Stephen McKenna, C. SS. R. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, May). Archbishop Gross.

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